

<sup>A</sup>  
**VOYAGE**  
TO THE  
**EAST INDIES;** - Vol I

CONTAINING  
AUTHENTIC Accounts of the MOGUL Government in  
general, the Viceroyalties of the DECAN and BENGAL,  
with their several subordinate Dependences.

OF  
*ANGRIA, the MORATTOES, and TANYOREANS.*  
OF THE  
MAHOMETAN, GENTOO, and PARSEE RELIGIONS.  
OF THEIR  
*CUSTOMS AND ANTIQUITIES,*

With general Reflections on the  
**TRADE OF INDIA.**

OF THE  
EUROPEAN Settlements, particularly those belonging to the  
ENGLISH; their respective Factories, Governments,  
Trade, Fortifications and Public Buildings: The History of  
the War with the FRENCH from 1754 to the Conclusion of  
the general Peace in 1763.

By Mr. G R O S E.

IN TWO VOLUMES. Vol I

A NEW EDITION.

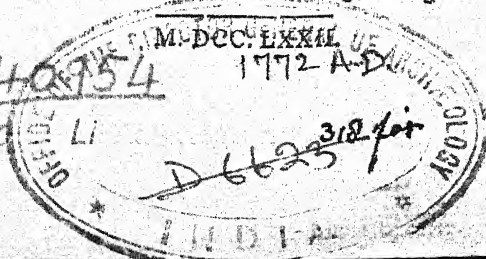
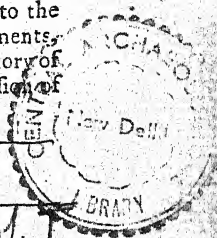
Illustrated with Views and several Plans, not in the former Edition.

To which is added,

A Journey from ALEPPO to BUSSERAH, over the  
Desert, by Mr. CHARMICHAEL.

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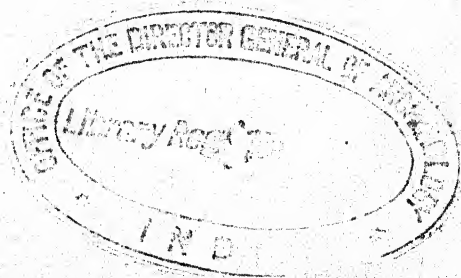
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## ADVERTISEMENT.

THE former Edition of this Work having met with a favourable reception from the Public, the Editor has been encouraged to enlarge it, by the addition of several new Plans, and has likewise added, by way of Appendix, the Journal of Mr. Charmichael over the Desert, from Aleppo to Bufferah; which, from the many necessary informations, and judicious remarks, will be both an useful and entertaining Companion to those who may have occasion to make that journey, and be the means of procuring further insight into the situation and remains of those antient Cities, mentioned in Sacred History.

It may be satisfactory to the reader, to know something of Mr. Charmichael; I shall therefore acquaint him, that he was in the service of the East India Company at Bombay, where having some disputes with the Governor and Council, he came  
over



## ADVERTISEMENT.

over to England, in order to lay his complaints before the Court of Directors, leaving his affairs in India unsettled.

His conduct was so much disapproved, that instead of meeting with redress, he was dismissed the service; and on his application for leave to go back, in order to settle his affairs, was refused a passage on board any of the Company's ships.

This occasioned him to take the journey over the Desert. On his arrival in India, he entered into the service of one of the country Powers; and after meeting with many adventures, and experiencing great vicissitudes of fortune, he at last died in distress at Surat.

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A

GLOSSARY, OR EXPLANATION,

O F

PERSIAN, MOORISH, and INDIAN Names mentioned in this WORK.

A.

Amdanny,  
Arzdasht, or Argee,  
Assammees,

**I**MPORTS.

A petition.  
Dealers in different branches of trade.

B.

Bang,  
Banka Bazar,  
Batta,

An intoxicating juice of a vegetable.  
Formerly the Ostend factory.

An extraordinary allowance to the army in the field, or where garri-son provisions are scarce.

Begum,  
Betel,

Princess; meaning without care.

A leaf, somewhat like that of a kidney-bean, growing on a vine in the same manner, and commonly used by all degrees of people; who chew it mixed with Chinam and the Betel-nut, which is the produce of a different plant.

Bootans,  
Bramin,  
Buckferrias,

The inhabitants of Assam.

A priest.

Foot-soldiers, whose common arms are only sword and target.

Buckshee, or Buxey, Treasurer to the Mogul, or paymaster of troops.

Bundar,

A Custom-house.

C.

Cawn, or Khan,  
Chinam, or Chunam,  
Chop,

A title of dignity.

Lime, fine and unslacked.

A small seal, on which is engraved the name of the Mogul, and the year of the Hegyra.

Choultry,

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| ✓Choultry,           | An open house for all travellers.  |
| Chout,               | A fourth part; but commonly used for the tribute exacted by the Morattoes.         |
| ✓Chowkeys,           | Or Chokeys, Barriers or turnpikes; or the guards at the stairs, or landing-places. |
| Chubdaar,            | An usher.  |
| Circar,              | See Sircar.  |
| Coffres, or Caffres, | Negroes brought to India from Africa, and trained up as soldiers by the Europeans. |
| Colleries,           | Inhabitants of the woods, under the government of the Polygars.                    |
| Cooley,              | A porter, or laborer of any kind.  |
| Corore, or Crore,    | Of rupees, an hundred lack, or near 1,250,000 l. sterling. See lack.               |
| Coss, or Corse.      | A measure of distance from two miles to two and half.                              |
| Cossid,              | A foot-messenger, or post.   |
| Cowle,               | A protection.  |

## D.

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| Dawgahs,   | Or Darugahs, Custom-house officer, or collectors. |
| Decoyt,    | A robber.   |
| Dewan,     | King's treasurer.                                 |
| Dewanny,   | Superintendency over the royal revenues.          |
| Dooley,    | A woman's chair, like a sedan.                    |
| Dummadah,  | A river.  |
| Durbar,    | The court, or council, of a Mogul prince.         |
| Duffutary, | An impost of ten per cent.                        |
| Duffuck,   | An order.   |

## F.

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| Firman,            | Or Phirmaund, A patent signed by the Mogul; a royal mandate, or grant. |
| Fouzdar, Fowj'dar, | Or Phousdar, A governor, military officer, or renter.                  |

Gentoo,

## G.

- Gentoo, or Zentoo, Native Indians, who remain in a  
state of idolatry.  
Gomastah, A broker, factor, or agent.  
Gunge, Grain-market.  
Gwallers, Carriers of Palanquins.

## H.

- Hackeries, Carts or coaches drawn by oxen.  
Harkarahs, Spies.

## J.

- Jageer, Jaghire, Or Jaqueer, A territory or district,  
granted as a mark of honor, or  
allotted as a pension.  
Jaggernaut, The Gentoo pagoda.  
Jemidar, Jem- } Officers of horse or foot, of the  
mautdaar, or } same rank with the Roman cen-  
Zemidar. } turion : sometimes it implies peo-  
ple of rank employed about the  
principal persons in the govern-  
ment.

## K.

- Khan, See Cawn.  
Killedar, The governor of a fort.  
Kistbundee, Times of payment of the country  
revenues.

## L.

- Lack of rupees, About 12,500 l. sterling. See  
Corore.

## M.

- Mackulka, An obligation with a penalty an-  
nexed.  
Maund, A gross weight between 70 and 80  
pounds : but variable in different  
places ; for at Surat it is only 37  
pounds one half.  
Moonsthee, Or Moonsthee, A Persian secretary.  
Moories, Writers.

Moors,

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| Moors,       | The Mahometans of India; but they are improperly so denominated. |
| Muchulcas,   | Bonds of obligations.  |
| Mufnud,      | The throne of an Indian Prince.                                  |
| Muxadabad,   | Or Moorshadabad, The capital of Bengal.                          |
| Muckfadabad, |  |

## N.

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| Nabob, or Navob, | A governor of a province, appointed by the Soubah. See Soubah. |
| Naib, or Neabut, | A deputy to the governor of a place.                           |
| Nobut,           | A drum, or mark of royalty assumed by the Soubahs of Bengal.   |

## O.

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| Omrahs, | Privy-counsellors to the Mogul, and men of the first rank in the empire. |
|---------|--|

## P.

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| Paddy,             | Rice in the husk.   |
| Paddy-grounds,     | Rice-fields.  |
| Pagoda,            | An Indian temple.   |
| Pagoda,            | An Indian coin, worth seven shillings and eight pence sterling.     |
| Palankeen,         | A kind of canopy-bed for travelling.                                |
| Paragana,          | A district of country.  |
| Parfees,           | Worshippers of fire.  |
| Patamar,           | A messenger, or post.   |
| Peons,             | Foot soldiers armed with a broadsword, or a match-lock.             |
| Pergannahs,        | Villages.   |
| Perwannah,         | A letter, order, or command; and sometimes a grant from the prince. |
| Pettah,            | The town surrounding an Indian fort.                                |
| Phirmaund,         | See Firman and Fouzdar.   |
| Phousdar,          |   |
| Podor, or Shroffs, | A money-changer.  |
| Polygar,           | The Lord of a district.   |
| Pondary, Foorea,   | Farmers distinct allowances on grain at the Gunge.                  |

Ponsways,

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| Ponfways, | Guard-boats.                                   |
| Pettahs,  | Grants.  |
| Pykes,    | Officers relative to the service of the lands. |

## R.

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| Raja,             | The highest title claimed by the Gentoo princes.            |
| Royran,           | The king's officer for receiving the revenue.               |
| Rafftanny,        | Exports.  |
| Rumnah,           | District for the royal game.                                |
| Rupee, or Roupee, | A silver coin, about two shillings and five pence sterling. |

## S.

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| Saneds, or Sunnuds, | Grants, or commissions from the Mogul, Soubahs or Nabobs.   |
| Sardar,             | An officer of horse.  |
| Seapoys, or Sepoys, | Indian foot soldiers, hired and disciplined by Europeans.   |
| Seer,               | A measure, forty of which is a Maund. See Maund.  |
| Shroff,             | A banker. See Podor.  |
| Siccas,             | Coin of the country.  |
| Sircar,             | A general name for the government, or persons concerned in the administration.                          |
| Sirpah,             | A rich dress of the country, bestowed by the government as a mark of distinction on particular persons. |
| Soubah, Soubahdar,  | Or Suba, The viceroy of the Decan, or of Bengal.  |
| Sunnuds,            | See Saneds.   |

## T.

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| Tank,    | A pond, or pool of water.   |
| Tanka,   | The revenue appropriated by the Mogul for maintaining a fleet at Surat. |
| Tankfal, | A mint for coinage.   |

Telinga,



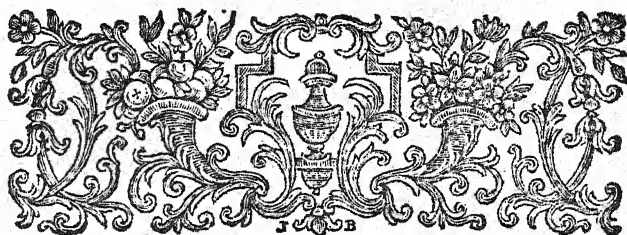
|                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Telinga, Telingas,          | The Carnatic country; and soldiers raised there, or sepoyes, sometimes called Tellingas.                                 |
| Tom-Toms,                   | Drums.   |
| Topasses,                   | A tawney race of foot soldiers, descended from Portuguese marrying natives, and called Topasses; because they wear hats. |
| Tunkahs,                    | Assignments upon lands; or rents assigned to the company.  |
| Tuzsaconna, {<br>Ginanah, } | Wardrobe and seraglio.   |

## V.

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| Vakeel, or Vaqueel, | An English agent or resident at the Nabob's court: also an agent or minister for the Moors. |
| Vizerut,            | The grant for the Vizirship.  |

## Z

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| Zemin,     | Ground.   |
| Zemindary, | An officer to take care of the rents arising from the public lands. |
| Zentoo,    | See Gentoo.   |



A  
V O Y A G E  
TO THE  
E A S T - I N D I E S.

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B O O K I.  
*The Author's voyage from ENGLAND to  
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C H A P. I.

*Voyage from the Downs to Johanna. Account of some  
sea-fish: the flying-fish; bonitos; albacore; dorado;  
shark; sucking-fish; pilot-fish; yellow-tails. Ac-  
count of some sea-birds; the tropic-birds; alba-  
trosses; noddies; and boobies. Account of a water-  
spout.*



I was in the station of a cove-  
nant servant, and writer to the  
East-India company, that, in the  
month of March 1750, I em-  
barked on board one of the com-  
pany's ship's, named the Lord  
Anson, Charles Foulis, com-  
mander, bound for Bombay and China; at the  
former of which places, I was to be left under the  
disposition of that presidency.

VOL. I.

B

By

By such as are on the point of commencing travellers, on the sea, especially upon a voyage, in which so long intervals occur between land and land, the following general hint will not, I hope, be thought impertinent. They will then certainly find their account, in framing, before they are embarked, a list of such necessities, as they may probably want in the course of the passage, concerning which, they will do well to take the advice of such as have been the like voyage before, and who, by their own knowledge and experience, will be best qualified to inform them, not only of the most material requisites, but even of sundry little items, which to name here might seem trifling, and of which the miss however is serious, when out at sea, where it is not often easy to repair one's improvidence.

ANOTHER caution, too, as trite a repetition as it may appear, I am induced not to omit re-inculcating, for having observed it commonly neglected: and that is, for such as have reason to apprehend the sea-sickness, not to go on board with a full stomach: not that even, by this means, such as are liable to it, will wholly escape it; but so much is certain, that they will be affected in a less violent degree. And when under the influence of it, as it is necessary to eat and drink, not only to support nature, but to avoid the dangers of over-straining and reachings of an empty stomach, the lightest, and most digestible foods, are the most preferable.

ON the 30th of March 1750, we sailed out of the Downs, in company with four East-Indiamen; but as there nothing occurs material to be remarked of these our consorts, some of whom soon after parted company, I shall say no more of them.

WE were then soon out of sight of British land, and got into the main-ocean; and as it could

could be but tiresome to the reader unversed in navigation, and superfluous for one who understood it, to be detained by a dry uninteresting journal of winds, courses, and the like common occurrences at sea, I shall only offer those points which are of a more general nature, to the curiosity of the reader: and even then have an apology to make for the unavoidable repetition of descriptions, with which a number of travellers, who have preceded me in this subject, seem to have exhausted it. All the novelty then that can possibly be expected, in a voyage now so common and well known, must arise from the different points of view, in which nature presents the same objects to different persons, or at least often, so as to afford some new light to be thrown upon them.

As the fishes then form no small part of the entertainment, in the course of the passage, I shall begin with them, just premising, that besides the usual tackle of lines, and hooks of all sizes, there are no ships on those voyages, but are equipped with a competent number of harpoons or fish-gigs. This is a long staff, armed at one end with a cluster of well tempered iron prongs, which being barbed hinder the fish, on being struck with it, from flouncing off. The other end is heavily cased, or wrapped round with lead, so that when delivered from the striker's hand, with a line to it that runs the length of the staff, it serves, by its weight, to cant the fish upmost, in a position the most favorable to bring it on board.

THE flying-fish, are most generally seen within the tropics, or in the latitudes near them. Their size is, commonly speaking, that of a large herring, to which they have some resemblance. The over-proportioned size of their side-fins, countenance very clearly the opinion of their being assisted by them, in the spring they make out of the

water, on being pursued by the larger fishes of prey; as those fins continuing spread must naturally gather some air. But I much doubt, whether what is called their flight is not more properly an extended leap (like that of the flying-squirrels on shore, to whom the expansion of a membranous fold, that makes part of the skin of their hind legs, serves for a kind of wings) and that their necessity of replunging into the water, is not so much owing to their fins drying, in so short a space as 25 or 30 yards, and requiring wetting afresh, as to the force of their spring being spent. There are many fish, besides them, that take very considerable leaps out of the water, though not of such a length as they do, from their side-fins not being so well adapted for a continuance of a motion compounded of flying and leaping. So far is certain, that they have no guidance from their sight, but are urged headlong onward by a mechanical impulse, insomuch, that they not unfrequently fall into ships, and especially in the chains, which being lower than any part of the gunnel, stop, and receive them. They are a very well-tasted fish, and often seen in great shoals, flying from the pursuit of the Bonitos, Albacores, and Dorados, whose choice prey they seem to be, very few of those fishes being caught, without some of them being found in their stomachs, and accordingly the best baits for those species are an imitation of the flying-fish, which being swung to-and-fro, represent their flight, so as to deceive and bring them greedily to the hook. Nor does this fish find enemies only in its own element; for several sea birds, watch hovering for its emergence, and dart down on it, with such quickness, as to make it their prey, before its re-plunge, so that it suffers a fatal persecution in both elements.



It was not till about the latitude of thirty, that we saw and caught several Bonitos, a fish of the size of a middling salmon, to which it is not unlike, but rather thicker for its length. This fish undoubtedly takes its name, from its relishing so well to the taste of the Portugueze, the first navigators on this ocean, that they called it Bonito, which answers in our tongue to delicious. Not that, in effect, it is remarkably so; but very probably, was so welcome to the first captors of it, perhaps on the dearth of fresh meals, that they honored it with that appellation, which has continued to it ever since. It is a very firm, and not unpleasant fish; but rather dry, and requiring a rich sauce, to entitle it to its name: though dryness is a reproach that in some degree belongs, generally speaking, to those species, that may properly be called ocean-fish: to which it is no contradiction to observe, that they are sometimes taken near the land. The Bonito feeds upon all small fish, especially the flying-fish, with the imitation of which they are often caught, and often stuck with the fish-gig.

THE Albacore, is another fish of much the same kind as the Bonito; but grows to a larger size, some being taken especially by the hook, from sixty to ninety pounds weight and upward. The name of this fish too is taken from the Portugueze, importing its white color. They are rather drier eating than the Bonito. For the rest, their prey, and method of catching them is the same, and both are at certain seasons infested with a worm, that makes them in an agony spring out of the water, so high as to fall into boats, when in the way of their leap.

WITH respect to the Dorado, it may be observed how difficult it is, for an appellation, when once fixed, however wrongfully applied, to be

shaken off, or corrected. It is no new, but certainly a just remark, that this fish is very improperly called a Dolphin, having not the least resemblance to the description, or delineation of that fish, by authors, painters, or statuaries. The Portugueze, however, gave it the name of Dorado, from its golden-like hue, which is the groundwork of a beautiful azure, that is blended with it: and, in truth, nothing can be imagined of a more lively gloss than its colors, which however, on the fish being taken, fade off sensibly in a few minutes, adding one more striking instance of the alterations produced by death in all the animated creation. This fish, which is caught exactly in the same manner as the Bonitos, or Albacores, their food being the same, is generally greatly preferred to them, in point of taste. Their size is commonly about three or four foot, and delicately shaped; except that the head seems rather too large; though the chief bone of it, on dissection, appears admirably modelled for a cut-water; and, indeed, they swim with an inconceivable rapidity.

HAVING however, as I conceive, very justly divested the Dorado of the appellation of Dolphin, the point is where to place it more properly: and I apprehend, that the fish now called Porpoises can only lay claim to it. Some however deny this, and insist on the dolphin being a creature of the imagination, not only on the account of the fabulous properties, attributed to it by the antients, such as taking the famous musician Arion on its back, its tameness, and likings to human society, of all which distinctions there exist at present no traces; but also in respect to the curve form, it, as preserved in paintings and statues, being different from the porpoise, which when taken, appears as straight a fish as any that swims.

Without

Without presuming to decide the question, I can only say, that it can hardly be thought, that so many authors would have treated so currently of a species entirely non-existent, however some of them might mix the false and marvellous in their accounts of it: and as to the form, the difference arising from the curvature, is probably owing to its being constantly represented in the point of leaping, when either the eye is deceived by the quickness of the tumble, or the porpoise really bends the body, in a manner answerable to the usual delineation of the dolphin, which, with the similar projection of the snout from the head, seem to authorize in some degree the conjecture of the porpoise, being no other than the dolphin of the antients; at least, it is not so thoroughly different from the representation of it, as the dorado, the size of which besides is much too small, for its having any pretension to pass for it.

THE shark, which is so common a fish near the land in several parts of the lower latitudes, is not unfrequently met with in the main-sea; but then it is chiefly in calms, or very light breezes, when it will follow a ship for a considerable time, unless betrayed to the hook by its natural voracity: for it is commonly too large to be mastered by a harpoon, or fish-gig. Any thing almost for a bait will serve; but it requires a strong hook to hold it; and those of the larger size, the noose of a running-tackle to bring them on board: where, as soon as they touch the deck, they make all shake again with the violent flounces of their tail, capable of breaking a man's leg: yet they are presently subdued by a cut of the ax on it, which deprives them instantly of all power, so that they are soon dispatched. The common length of this fish is from nine to fifteen feet; but I have been credibly informed, there are some of them of

twenty feet and upwards. It has no scales. The skin of it is rather rough, like shagreen, than very hard; of a deep brown, and somewhat greenish color, and whitening by degrees to the belly. One of them will generally make a meal for the whole ship's company; but then they are the ran-ker, in proportion to their size, and at best afford an indifferent repast: the fins only excepted, which though covered with a skin hard enough to be used as a slate to write on, when jerked, or dried in the sun, afford however when prepared, according to the Chinese cookery, a very delicate dish. They cut them out in strips, or rather filaments, which when seasoned in their manner, are stewed into a tender gristly substance, extremely well-tasted, and is by them esteemed one of those rare provocatives to venery, that at once stimulate and strengthen.

THIS fish must however have been much more effectually the terror of the seas, had nature endowed it with an agility, and disposition of parts, answerable to that of its voracity, which is so especially assisted with a dreadful triple row of teeth, as sharp as razors. But, besides its not being the swiftest swimmer, its mouth, by being placed considerably within the projection of its snout, towards the belly, obliges it to turn on its back, or at least sideways to snap at its prey, which it does so heavily, that good swimmers will, with a knife, either for diversion, or for the sake of shewing their skill, attack it in its own element, and diving under the belly, where the skin is very soft, rip it open, or oblige it to sheer off. How they engender cannot be ascertained; but it is certain, that the females are not only viviparous, the young ones being found alive in their bellies, when taken, but they occasionally afford them a retreat in it, until they out-grow the size of wanting one.

THERE is also another sort of them, called the bottled-nosed sharks, of a dark blueish hue : but of those I never saw any caught ; and being looked on as not fit to eat, they are rarely meddled with, unless purely for sport.

THIS fish too has, like its name-fakes the human sharks, on the land, its dependents, or under-suckers, as well as its scouts or guides to its prey.

THE sucking-fish then aptly enough represents the first, being a small fish, rarely above a foot long, and often much shorter. They fasten upon the shark, by the means of an oval-shaped membrane of a texture, admirably adapted for that purpose, with which they stick so close to the skin of the shark, commonly on its sides or back, as not to part with it, even when it is taken, and no strength of hands can hardly separate them, if pulled against the grain of the sucker ; but sliding them on forward, with the grain, they easily enough come off ; and this force of adhesion continues whilst there is any life in them, as may be proved on applying them to a table, or any hard substance. It doubtless annoys the shark in the nature of vermin, drawing its sustenance from the slimy oozing of its body, whilst it can neither shake it off, nor come at it to destroy it. The gills of it are placed in an inverted position, opening upwards. It is of a dull muddy slate color, and of no use for food, having neither substance nor taste.

THE other species of attendants on the shark, are what is called pilot-fish, which some writers have confounded with the sucking-fish, though of quite a different species ; being perhaps one of the beautifullest fish that swims : seldom above a foot, or a foot and a half long, streaked transversally with blue, and a yellowish brown, that have a very pleasing effect in the water, but lose much of their lively gloss when taken. These fish are ofteneest  
seen

seen in small shoals, swimming immediately a-head of the shark, or near him. When a bait is thrown out for the shark, they cluster to it, without attempting to nibble themselves, but by their motions to and fro, seem to guide the shark towards it, from whence they derive their appellation of pilot-fish; when in company with the shark, they rarely take the small hook themselves; but when they have lost this their consort, or follow a ship, either singly or in shoals, they will then sometimes bite, and be caught. They are esteemed, for their size, the most delicious eating that the ocean affords, having nothing of that dryness reproachable to the other fish or it, as before observed.

THERE are also often caught, with the hook, or harpoon, a fish, called yellow-tails, from the color of that part, from one to three or four foot long. They are very eatable, but inferior in point of taste, and beauty of color to the dorados, which they otherwise much resemble in their make.

As the above-noted species of the fish-kind are what chiefly occur in the passage, I imagined, I could not without impropriety entirely omit them; and, for the same reason, shall just make a summary mention of the sea-birds, that are most commonly observed in the track of this navigation.

NEAR, or within the tropics, as the term imports, are often seen what are called tropic-birds: white, of the size of a large hawk: with nothing remarkable but a length of feather, that proceeds from their tails.

ALBATROSSES, which are met with more frequent as you approach the land, are a very large bird, and from their size, received from the Portuguese the name of Alcatruz, or Ostriches (having no other resemblance to that bird) from which by corruption is derived Albatross. These are the birds, which are the most cruel enemies to the flying-fish: and their beak is so sharp, that it enables them,



them, as they dart down on the wing upon any fish, they see on the surface of the water, to scoop out a piece of it, when too large to carry the whole away.

THE noddies and boobies, being of the size of a large duck, plainly receive their name from their silliness, in suffering themselves to be taken by the hand, as they perch upon the yards, or other parts of the ship: which cannot be from weariness, being web-footed. For the rest they are too tough, and fishy, to be eatable.

THURSDAY the 10th of May, we saw a waterspout, which burst very near us. Its first appearance resembled a black smoak, somewhat in the shape of an inverted pyramid. This is a body of water, collected between a cloud and the surface of the sea; but we had no occasion to fire at it, which is often done to dissipate it by the explosion. They are sometimes many minutes in falling, and irritate the water to that degree, as to produce a great ebullition and foam. If it bursts on the deck of a ship, it will go near to sink it, with the great weight of water, with which it is pregnant: but, I believe, there are few instances known of such an accident, this phenomenon being always in the day-time, and the danger easily avoided, by forcing its dispersion, or steering clear of it.

BESIDES that, and the common incidents of land-falls in our way, we had no remarkable occurrence, unless that on Thursday the 7th of June, as one Stedman, the carpenter's mate, was about some little jobb on one of the ship's sides, and being careless in his hold, a large wave came suddenly, and washed him into the sea; immediate notice of which being given to the captain, we brought to all standing, and threw over a large grating, and an empty cask, of the latter of which he luckily got hold, and the boat being expeditiously

tiously hoisted out, and manned, they were just time enough to save him. Though he was allowed to be an excellent swimmer, the sea was so prodigiously rough, that he could scarce have kept a minute longer on the cask, without being washed off. We were going at the rate of seven knots, or miles, an hour, when this accident happened, which made the saving him a very hazardous point.

SATURDAY the 28th of July, we anchored happily in the road of Johanna, having been now near four months since our departure from the Downs.

## C H A P. II.

*The five COMRO islands. Account of JOHANNA. View of it from the road. Boats come off, and their nature of dealing. Of the other four islands, COMRO, MAYOTTA, MOHILLA, and ANGAZEJA. Landing of the sick men for refreshment. —The town of Johanna. Of the founder of that government in the present family. Soil and trade. A trip into the country. The king goes on board the ENGLISH vessels. His subjects way of begging: their houses; diet; dress; treatment of infants; language, and religion. Their land and sea animals; their fruit. Departure from Johanna: and arrival at BOMBAY.*

THE view of this island to those on board-ship in the road, is of itself so extremely pleasant, as not to need the circumstance of its being a landing-place, after so long a run, to recommend it. The hills high, and covered with evergreens down to the water's edge, and disembofoming to the sea, in a delicious valley, altogether form one of the most pleasing landscapes that can be imagined;

imagined; nature there luxuriating into a romantic wildness, with which the eye, if not more delighted, is at least less apt to be satiated, than with the tame insipid regularity of art.

THE ship was no sooner anchored, than surrounded with a number of canoes, hurrying on board with refreshments of all sorts, of the produce of the island; and it was humorous enough to mark the confusion, and strife, among the rowers, who should get first to their market, the ship. They are sometimes overset, when the sea is any thing high; but, without any danger to their persons, being excellent swimmers, and lose only their little cargoes of green-trade. These canoes are most of them ballanced on each side with out-leagers, composed of two poles each, with one across, to prevent their oversetting. They use paddles instead of oars; and make no distinction of head or stern. Their larger boats, called panguays, are raised some feet from the sides with reeds and branches of trees, well bound together with small-cord, and afterwards made water-proof, with a kind of bitumen, or resinous substance. The mast, for few have more than one, carries a sail or two, which is made either of coconut leaves, or sheer-grass matted together; and in these boats they will venture out to sea, for trips of three or four weeks, and sometimes longer.

It was common, not many years ago, for the natives who came off with refreshments to the ships, such as fresh coconuts, plantains, fowls, goats, &c. to deal entirely by way of barter, for handkerchiefs, rags, glass-bottles, bits of iron, in short, all sorts of frippery, without any respect to money. But of late they begin to know its value; and it is only the most inconsiderable articles, that they will now part with, in that manner; yet they

they still afford every thing cheap enough, not to be repined at.

JOHANNA is one of the five Comro islands, which take their name from the largest island Comro, the other four being distinguished by the names of Mayotta, Mohilla, Angazeja and Johanna. This last lies in the latitude of 12 degrees, fifteen minutes south: all of them opposite to the African shore, between which, and the great island of Madagascar, is formed what is called the Mozambique-channel, from Mozambique a small island belonging to the Portugueze, where they have a very considerable settlement, close upon the continent, in the latitude of 14 south.

COMRO, the largest island, is not at all frequented by the Europeans; because it has no safe harbor, or roadstead to it: besides, the natives have the character of a barbarous, untractable people, that will suffer no commerce with strangers. Perhaps too, not without reason: as it was common for the Portugueze especially, in the early times of their navigating those seas, to take the advantage of the simplicity of the inhabitants, unacquainted with arms, and incapable of defence, and land parties out of their vessels, to rob, and commit all manner of outrages on the natives, not unfrequently carrying them away slaves; a procedure, which may have given them a traditional aversion to, and jealousy of all strangers in general: and very probably the revenge they might thereon take on the next comers, without distinction of the innocent, may have gained them that inhospitable character, which is to this day continued to them.

MAYOTTA, Mohilla, and Angazeja, are also little resorted to, on account of the superior advantages of Johanna, in the safety of its roadstead; which, joined to the more civilized disposition of  
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its inhabitants, have nearly engrossed the custom of the Europeans touching there for refreshments.

ON a ship's arrival, and anchoring on the west side of the island, where the road is ; it is the common practice to pitch a tent ashore, made of the sails and spare-booms, for the reception of the sick, who, though never so much disabled with the scurvy, generally recover their health surprizingly quick ; as much doubtless by the specifically reviving influence of the earth itself, as even by the variety of excellent refreshments, with which the country abounds, as oxen, goats, fowls, fruits, all admirable in their kinds, and the fresh water perfectly good. The danger is for the common sailors, who arrive well and in health, lest they should by their intemperance, especially in the raw fruits, contract, or lay foundations for distempers to break out when they get to sea again.

It has been said, that the lying ashore is prejudicial, on account of the moist vapors diffused from the neighboring hills : but I rather think the unwholsomeness to consist chiefly in the insufficiency of the lodgment under a tent, to resist the keenness of the night air, and the damps of the atmosphere, rising directly from the earth itself. This I submit to the judgment of the physicians.

FROM the spot where the tents are pitched, is about a mile's walk along shore, to what is called the town of Johanna, to come at which you cross over a small rivulet, very near it. This town, or more properly speaking, village, is composed of about two hundred houses and huts together. Those which being of stone, may perhaps deserve the name of houses, belong to the chief, who is honored with the title of king of Johanna, and to the principal men of the country. Their best buildings, at least all that I saw, are but of one story, and even those very low. They suffer stran-

gers to come in familiarly to their first apartment, all the others being reserved for their families. The house where the king resides is built of stone and mud, and does not make a figure superior to a common English alms-house, being wretchedly furnished, awkwardly hung with pieces of coarse chintz, with here and there a small trumpery looking-glass. Yet with all this inferiority of parade and state, in comparison with what is seen in more extensive and civilized dominions, the title of king is not so absolutely improper to the chief of this island, which contains, on a gross calculation, about thirty leagues in circuit, seventy-three villages, and near thirty thousand inhabitants; he having all the essentials of royalty, an unlimited power over his subjects, both in temporals and spirituals.

THE grandfather of the present king, if I may then have leave to use that term, was an Arab, or Moorish trader to Mozambique, where, on a quarrel with a Portuguese fidalgo, or gentleman, with whom he was dealing for slaves on that coast, he had the fortune to kill his adversary, and was thereon obliged instantly to fly, and put to sea in the first boat he could seize on the shore, when the first land he made was Johanna, where he took refuge. Here meeting with an hospitable reception, he remained some years in obscurity, until an Arab trunky being driven in there by stress of weather, he made himself known to his countrymen, for whom he procured all the relief the place afforded.

IN the mean time he had so perfectly acquainted himself with the language and manners of the inhabitants, and was so captivated with the fertility and pleasantness of the country, that he not only relinquished every thought of returning to his own, but laid a scheme to obtain for himself the sovereignty of this; in which he was greatly countenanced



tenanced and assisted by the Arabs his countrymen, who came into his views, for the advantage they expected to reap from his success.

He proceeded not on a plan of violence, but of insinuation, in making himself necessary to the natives, whom he instructed in the use of arms before unknown to them, especially the zagay or lance, which those of any consideration among them, now handle with dexterity. This then, with other methods of war which he taught them, entirely new to these simple savages, proving of singular service to them, against the inhabitants of the neighboring islands, especially of Mohila, with whom they had constant bickerings, sometimes invading, and sometimes invaded, acquired him such a consideration and authority, that he soon availed himself thereof, and procured himself to be elected their chief or king, and invested with a despotic power. Yet this was not obtained but by degrees, and by great art: themselves too being divided among one another. As soon, however, as he had carried his point, he made them repent of their credulity and confidence. For not only strengthening himself by calling in some of his countrymen with their families, but choosing for his guards the most bold and determined of the natives, he was presently in a condition to establish an arbitrary government. Such as endeavored to oppose him in his pretensions and innovations, he forced from their families, and sold for slaves to the Arabs; who, on this alteration, encreased their resort there for trade, which they still continue. In short, he succeeded so entirely, as to overcome all opposition, and to bequeath the peaceable sovereignty to his son, who was about forty three years of age, when this his father died, and who had no farther trouble or contestation with his subjects, until he also dying, a few years



ago, left two sons, of whom the eldest is at present the governing chief.

WHEN a ship arrives, it is necessary to obtain his licence for dealing with the natives; especially for the greater articles of refreshments, such as goats and oxen, as well as for wooding, watering, and landing the men: the permission for which is however purchased at a very reasonable expence, of a few presents of some yards of scarlet cloth, a little gun-powder, a few muskets, or other European commodities.

As the soil is of itself so naturally fertile, to produce every thing they covet for food, so their constitutional indolence keeps them satisfied, without any attempts at improvement, by tillage or cultivation. The Arabs, who have also extended their controul to the neighboring islands, which are in some sort of subjection to them, find it worth their while to come to Johanna in their trunkys, which are a kind of uncouth vessels, of seventy to a hundred tons, and carry back loadings of coconuts, with some cowries, a kind of shells, which are an article of trade; and perhaps a few slaves. It is from them that the Johanna-men have lately learnt the utility of money, in purchases from them, of coarse piece-goods, and other India commodities.

THERE are doubtless too, among the great variety of plants the earth yields here in a wanton profusion, some valuable simples, of which the power and salutary virtues remain unknown for want of a sufficient botanical enquiry; which I am induced to mention, from one of the natives there having made himself very useful, by the little skill and knowledge he has acquired in them, purely by dint of his own natural genius, without any assistance of education. This man, now much advanced in years, and known by the nick-name  
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of Purser-jack, speaks English fluently, and is readily serviceable in all intercourse with the natives: but what he is chiefly considered for among them is this, his uncommon knowledge of medicinal plants, by which he has done surprizing cures, and what is more, without fee or reward.

THE second day after our arrival, having an inclination to go up into the country with another English gentleman, a passenger in the Benjamin, captain Meard, I applied to this man for a guide, who accordingly procured us two stout fellows, that understood a little broken English, as indeed many of them do, who have any dealings with the shipping.

As we set out pretty early in the morning, we made a shift to penetrate about five miles into the country before the sun began to be any ways troublesome; and this was no small stretch, considering the mountainous way we had to go. We had fowling-pieces with us, and the view of excellent sport in shooting, could we have reached the places where we might perceive the game lay: but we could not conquer the ascent of the hills, though we endeavoured to scramble up them on our hands and knees. We were therefore obliged to rest satisfied with what small birds presented themselves, in the vallies and hills that were passable. We made our breakfast on pine-apples, and the milk of cocoa nuts, which served to quench our thirst. About noon, coming to a beautiful piece of water, we seated ourselves in the shade by the banks of it, to make a second meal, as well as to enjoy the tinkling of several little springs, and natural cascades, that fell from the rocks, and according to their distance seemed to sound a gradation of notes, so as to form a kind of agreeable soothing water-music.

THE orange and lime-trees, which stood in great numbers about that spot of ground, bending under the weight of their fruit, diffused a most fragrant odor. There were also pine-apples which grew wild, of eleven and thirteen inches circumference, of a much richer flavor, than those I afterwards met with in India. Our guides too made us distinguish a number of goyava, and especially plumb-trees, the size of whose fruit is about that of a damascene, and leaves a pleasing relish on the palate for some minutes after it is eaten. All these growing promiscuously, and without the least arrangement or order, combined with the falls of water, and the stupendous height of the surrounding hills, covered with trees and verdure, and in their various breaks and projections, exhibiting the boldest strokes of nature, altogether composed what might, without exaggeration, be called a terrestrial paradise, compared to which the finest gardens in Europe, with their statues, artificial cascades, compartments, and all the refinements of human invention, would appear poor indeed! here it was impossible for art to add any thing, but what would rather spoil than adorn the scenery.

It was not then without regret that we quitted so charming a spot, after having feasted our eyes with the beauties of it; to which it may be mentioned as no inconsiderable addition, that there was no fear of wild beasts, or of venomous creatures mixed with our pleasure, the island being so happy as to produce none. We returned to our tent, well paid for the slight fatigue we had undergone in this little excursion.

THE king resides for the most part about nine miles, according to their computation, up in the country, seldom coming down to what they call their lower town, on the sea side, but when the  
European

European ships are lying there, and is then accompanied by a numerous retinue.

WHEN he comes on board our vessels, which he rarely misses, he always expresses a great desire of knowing the name of every thing that is new to him; and as he has a tolerable smattering of the English tongue, is very inquisitive concerning our wars in Europe, and is especially well pleased with the civility of our captains, who regale him with European fare, and who generally salute him with five guns, on his paying them a visit, and the like number at his departure. This last is a ceremony he would not willingly dispense with; because this mark of respect gives him an air of importance among his subjects.

His attendants, who do not altogether stand so much upon ceremony, as their sovereign, have a forward way of begging any thing they fancy; and put on an air of dissatisfaction, if they are refused.

THEY begin, as I before observed, to be better acquainted with the value of gold and silver, and are not altogether so fond of baubles as they used to be: for if we want to purchase cattle, fowls, or cowries, they desire to be paid either in specie, fire-arms, or gun-powder. They have likewise fallen upon a method of soliciting those who come there, particularly all passengers, to contribute a dollar or two, towards improving their navigation, which they carry on with the African continent; and by way of persuasive example, produce several lists of persons who have subscribed to that purpose; so that they sometimes collect thirty or forty dollars a ship, from those who touch there: and when the captains leave the place, they generally make it a point for them to sign, and leave with them a certificate of good usage.

THE huts of the lower sort of people, are built something after the nature of our barns : the sides are a sort of reeds tied together, and plaistered over with a mixture of clay and cow-dung ; the roofs thatched with a kind of matting of coconut leaves. He is esteemed a man of rank who has a house of stone and mud.

THEY subsist chiefly on vegetables and milk, which they have here in great plenty and perfection. Instead of oil and vinegar to their sallads, that are of the lettuce kind, they use a kind of liquid, somewhat like our treacle ; being a preparation of the juice, yielded on incision from the coconut-tree, before it is thickened into the consistence of Iagree, which is a kind of coarse sugar they make from it.

THOSE of quality are to be distinguished by the nails of their fingers and toes, which they suffer to grow to an immoderate length ; being tinged with the alhenna, a yellowish red, furnished them by a certain shrub that grows in the marshy places of the island ; a practice used all over Arabia, and in most places of the Turkish dominions. They usually carry large knives, or poniards, stuck in a sash they wear round their waists ; some of which have silver or agate handles ; but commonly wrought wooden ones. They are most of them tall of stature, strong, and well proportioned ; have long black hair, piercing eyes, lips somewhat inclining to be thick, and are in general of a color between olive and black. Their women are rather more clumsily made.

THE common people have no cloathing but a piece of coarse wrapper, which goes round their loins, and often barely covers their sexual parts ; with a skull cap, of any sort of stuff. Those of a superior rank have a kind of wide-sleeved shirt, which hangs down over a pair of long drawers,  
and

and a waistcoat made thick or light, according to the season : but few wear turbands, unless such as are of great distinction.

THE women are more curious in their apparel, wearing a short jacket and petticoat, with a kind of loose gown, and a veil to cover their faces. Their arms and wrists they usually adorn with a number of bracelets, made of glass, iron, copper, pewter, and silver, according to their respective ranks or circumstances. The small of their legs, their fingers and toes, are likewise decked with chains and rings. Their ears are stuck full of mock jewels, and ornaments of metal, insomuch that the lobes of them especially are greatly dilated and weighed down, which they are from their infancy taught to consider as a beauty.

THEY suffer their children from their birth, males and females, to go stark naked, until from five to seven or eight years old : a custom they have in common with the Orientals, who are not so much governed in it by the heat of the climate, or necessity, as by physical reasons. They imagine that infants are constitutionally more apt to be hurt by heat than cold ; and that the free access of the air to all parts of their bodies, is even nutritious, and more favorable to their principles of growth, than if they were sweltered up with swathing clouts ; which, they think, rob them of a hardiness conducive to their health ; and, in case of any disposition to deformity, obstruct the free course of nature, always working for the best, and tending to clear itself of any imperfections. That also, by this method, those little creatures are preserved from the irksome galling and chafing of cloaths, so often breeding their complaints and cryings ; which, if not carefully attended to, terminate through their straining into ruptures, and at least require absorbent powders to imbibe the



acrid sweat, to which they are then subject. How far they may be in the right, I do not presume to determine, against the European custom, probably too prevalent and established to admit of a change; yet this is certain, that it is rare to see, I will not only say, a deformed person, among them, but even one who is not admirably proportioned: and I have reason to think ruptures almost unknown to them, which are so common in Europe: some of them are, it is true, when young troubled with the navel-rupture; but this they soon recover, and is without bad consequences.

THEIR language is a corrupt Arabic, mixed with the Zanguebar-tongue of the opposite part of the continent, from whence it is probable the Comro islands were originally peopled. But the whiter sort of them, who are generally of the best rank, or at least the most esteemed among them, partly derive their color from the Arab mixture, and partly from their communication with the Europeans, which was formerly much more common than at present. They have adopted the jealousy of the Arabs, together with their manners and religion; though theirs is as yet no more than a gross Mahometism, adulterated with the remains of their antient superstition, especially among the lower sort.


I COULD not learn that the Portugeze, or any of the Romish priests, had ever made any great efforts to introduce the Christian religion; probably from a sense that there was little or no money stirring here, which is usually their primum mobile: however, they affect religion for their pretext, as they are very indifferent about being pastors to sheep that have not a golden fleece; and, to say the truth, they generally take special care, wherever they go, in quality of messengers of the glad tidings of the gospel, to be, like other  
mercenary



mercenary messengers, well paid for their trouble; as will be more amply shewn, in the account I reserve to give in its place of that sort of christianity, they make such a boast of having propagated in India, with so little foundation for any plea of merit in it.

THEIR manners still retain a great deal of the simplicity of uncultivated nature. The mildness of the climate renders them indolent, and prone to venery. They often make use of the liberty granted them by their law of divorcing their wives, upon slight pretexts, for the sake of novelty; though they have generally two or three of them, and are confined to no number of concubines they can maintain. They are forward enough to beg any thing they like; but not thievishly inclined. They treat the English in particular, very cordially and fraternally; not purely from a principle of interest and convenience, which however has doubtless some influence; but also of gratitude, for the effectual assistance they formerly received from them in their wars with the Mohilians. Being moreover assured, by a frequent intercourse, that they have no design of invading their country, or liberty, of which they retain a strong jealousy against other European nations, and of the Portuguese especially; to whose usurpations of the sea coast on the continent they are no strangers; against which they chiefly, and with great reason, rely on the inaccessibility of their mountains, of which nature has formed for them an impenetrable barrier, and defence of the interior country.

ALL their woods, as I have before observed, are clear of any wild beasts of prey; nor are they infested with any venomous animals. They have a great number of monkies of different kinds and sizes; and a beast about the bigness of a common one, with a head greatly resembling that of  
a fox,



a fox, with a lively piercing eye. Its coat is of a woolly kind, most commonly of a mouse-color; and its tail, of about three feet in length, is variegated with circles of black, within an inch of one another, from the setting-on to the top. The natives call it a Mocawk, and when taken young it soon grows very tame. They also abound with squirrels, which are generally large and shy, but neither well-shaped nor agreeably colored. Their oxen, of which they have great numbers, are of a middling size; and, like those in the East Indies, are remarkable for their difference from ours, in having a large fleshy excrescence between their neck and back, which are called the hump, and when kept in pickle for some time, are generally preferred either to tongue, or udder, tasting like firm marrow: nothing too can be imagined sweeter than their flesh. What fowls we purchased were also extremely good and fat: however, while we remained there, I had no opportunity of tasting their game, of which they are said to have great and excellent variety: but the natives are bad sportsmen, either with net or gun.

THE sea also furnishes them with fish of different sorts, and in great abundance, which they are very expert at catching. They have one particular species, which is called the parrot-fish, beautified with the liveliest colors that can be imagined; is about three foot and a half in length, thick in proportion, and reckoned delicious eating. They have also some flat fish, that a good deal resemble the turbot; likewise thornbacks, mullets, and several other sorts, of which I could not learn the names.

BESIDES many fruits they have in common with the Indies, which it would be tiresome, and out of place to enumerate, there is one remarkable sort of sweet oranges, of a small size, not exceeding that of a common plumb or apricot; but replete with

with a juice, far more deliciously flavored than the larger sort, such as are generally imported in England from Portugal, under the name of China-oranges. Doubtless too, their being gathered ripe, and fresh from the tree, is an advantage to their taste; and they may safely be eat in great numbers.

UPON the whole then, it is not easy to conceive a place more perfectly suited for refreshment, after a tedious passage at sea, than the island of Johanna; there lying no objection to it, that I could learn, except the want of proper lodgment ashore, which might be easily provided for; and its distance, which would be more convenient, if it was so much beyond midway from England, that it makes the interval from land to land, rather too long for the preservation of health, especially among the common-sailors, not so preventively provided with necessaries against the ravages of the scurvy, as the officers and passengers. To say the truth, considering how precious the lives of men ought to be held, the precautions in their favor, great as they are already, on board the Europe ships, are not so sufficient, but they might receive some beneficial addition, in which both humanity, and the safety of the voyage itself, might find an account.

SATURDAY, the 4th of August, early in the morning, we unmoored the ship; and on receiving nineteen head of cattle on board, hoisted in the long-boat: in the afternoon weighed anchor, with a light breeze from off the shore, and made the best of our route for our next port of destination, Bombay; where, without any material occurrence in the passage, we arrived on Tuesday the 28th of the same month, and came to an anchor in the road, saluting the fort, as customary, with nine guns, which was returned with the difference of two less in number.

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## B O O K II.

### Of BOMBAY.

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#### C H A P. I.

*Author waits on the governor. Situation and latitude of the island. Advice for preserving health. Former unhealthiness of the island, and its present melioration in that point accounted for. Distempers. Seasons.*

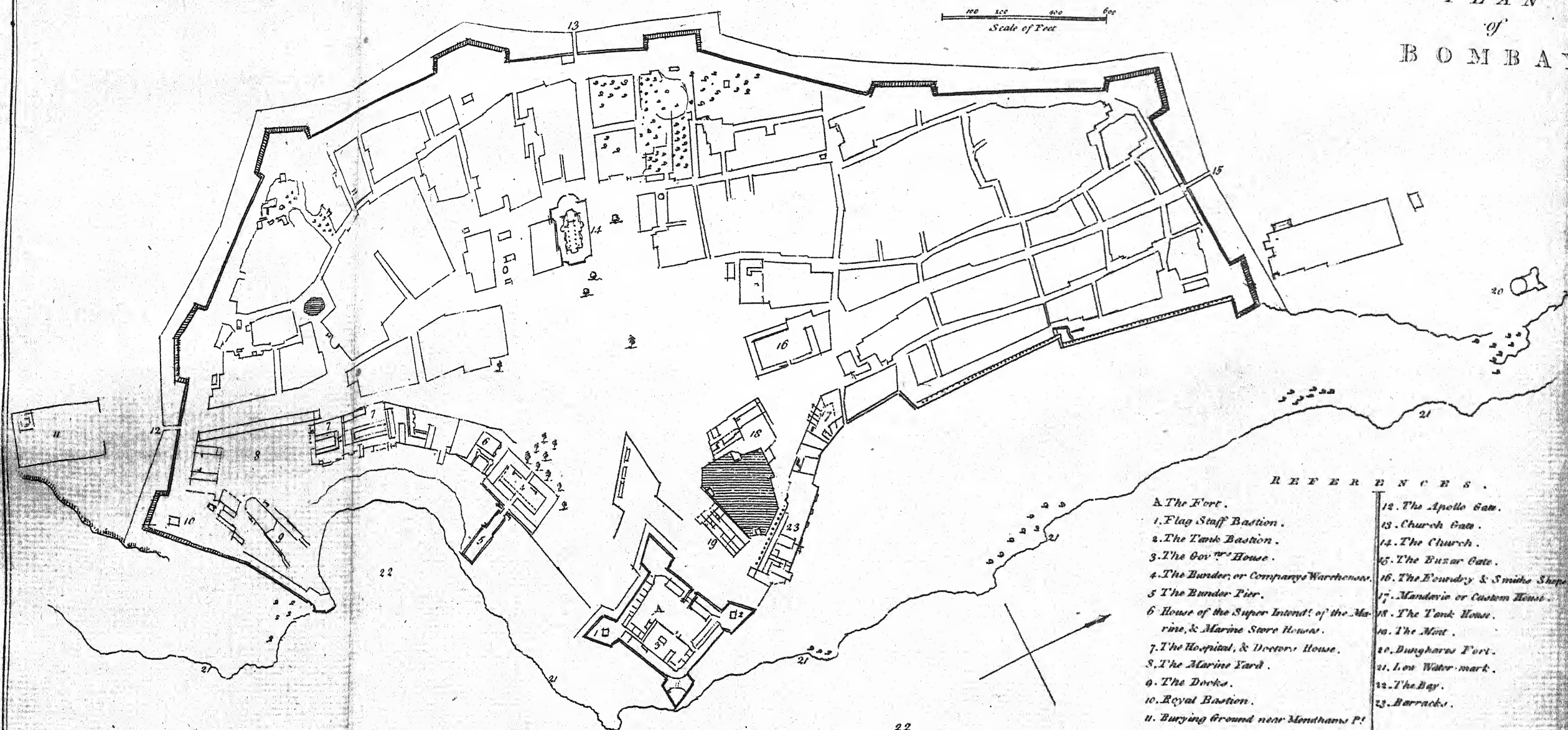
**A**RRIVING at Bombay, I went ashore in the evening, about six o'clock, where, with the other gentlemen entertained in the same service, we waited on Mr. Wake, then governor, with our respects ; who received us with great affability and politeness, inviting us to supper with him ; and in the interval, we retired to find out such gentlemen, belonging to the place, for whom we had letters.

It was my good fortune to be recommended, by a director in London, to a gentleman who was nephew to the governor, and at that time resided in the factory. He saved me the trouble of enquiring after him, by sending a servant to bring me to his apartment ; and who afterwards, in honor of my recommendation, did me all the good offices, so welcome and so necessary to strangers, especially on their first arrival in a place new to them, and where they must consequently want advice and directions. I mention this, not only by way of gratitude, but as a just caution for all who may



# PLAN of BOMBAY

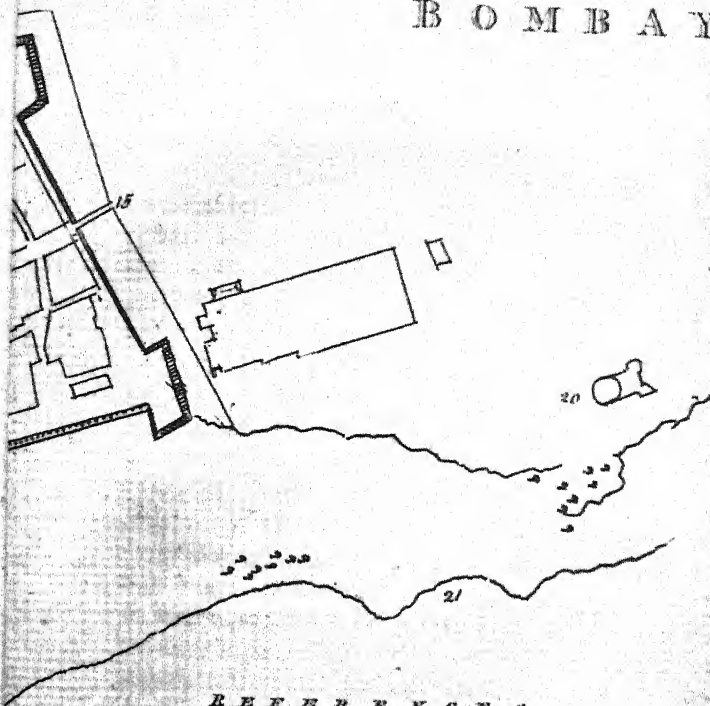
100 200 300 400 500 600  
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## REFERENCES.

- |   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| A. The Fort.  | 12. The Apollo Gate.            |
| 1. Flag Staff Bastion.  | 13. Church Gate.                |
| 2. The Tank Bastion.  | 14. The Church.                 |
| 3. The Gov <sup>r</sup> 's House.   | 15. The Bazar Gate.             |
| 4. The Bunder, or Company's Warehouse.  | 16. The Foundry & Smith's Shop. |
| 5. The Bunder Pier.   | 17. Mandevie or Custom House.   |
| 6. House of the Super Intend <sup>t</sup> of the Marine, & Marine Store Houses. | 18. The Tank House.             |
| 7. The Hospital, & Doctors' House.  | 19. The Mint.                   |
| 8. The Marine Yard.   | 20. Dughav's Fort.              |
| 9. The Docks.   | 21. Low Water mark.             |
| 10. Royal Bastion.  | 22. The Bay.                    |
| 11. Burying Ground near Merchants' P <sup>l</sup> .                             | 23. Barracks.                   |

# PLAN of BOMBAY



## REFERENCES.

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| <i>A. The Fort.</i>  | <i>12. The Apollo Gate.</i>                |
| <i>1. Flag Staff Bastion.</i>  | <i>13. Church Gate.</i>                    |
| <i>2. The Tank Bastion.</i>  | <i>14. The Church.</i>                     |
| <i>3. The Gov<sup>r</sup>'s House.</i>   | <i>15. The Bazar Gate.</i>                 |
| <i>4. The Bunder, or Company's Warehouse.</i>  | <i>16. The Foundry &amp; Smiths Shops.</i> |
| <i>5. The Bunder Pier.</i>   | <i>17. Mandavia or Custom House.</i>       |
| <i>6. House of the Super Intend<sup>t</sup> of the Marine, &amp; Marine Store House.</i> | <i>18. The Tank House.</i>                 |
| <i>7. The Hospital, &amp; Doctors House.</i>   | <i>19. The Mint.</i>                       |
| <i>8. The Marine Yard.</i>   | <i>20. Dughaves Fort.</i>                  |
| <i>9. The Docks.</i>   | <i>21. Low Water mark.</i>                 |
| <i>10. Royal Bastion.</i>  | <i>22. The Bay.</i>                        |
| <i>11. Burying Ground near Mandhavis P<sup>t</sup>.</i>                                  | <i>23. Barracks.</i>                       |

may be in the same case, of going abroad to such places to get provided with effectual recommendations ; for it too often happens, that many rest satisfied with either improper ones, or with such, as being mere matter of form, are treated so by those to whom they are addressed.

I WAS then soon put into a regular way of life, and had no other inconveniencies or complaints, but what one is usually exposed to, in the change of a native climate for a foreign one. And here, though this place is pretty well known by a number of descriptions of its origin, situation, climate, &c. it might be deemed an imperfection in my plan, were I not to mention, at least summarily, those particulars : as the reference to other books or accounts, would break the connection and order, required for the readers ideas, which must be the clearer, for the whole being presented to him at one view.

BOMBAY is an island, in the latitude of eighteen degrees, forty-one minutes of north latitude, near the coast of Deckan, the high mountains of which are full in view, at a trifling distance ; and is so situate, as, together with the winding of other islands along that continent, to form one of the most commodious bays perhaps in the world ; from which distinction it received the denomination of Bombay, by corruption from the Portuguese Buon-bahia, though now usually written by them Bombaim. Certain it is, that the harbor is spacious enough to contain any number of ships ; has excellent anchoring-ground ; and by its circular position, can afford them a land-locked shelter against any winds, to which the mouth of it is exposed. It is also admirably situated for a center of dominion and commerce, with respect to the Malabar coast, the Gulf of Persia, the Red-Sea, and the whole trade of that side of the great Indian Peninsula,



Peninsula, and northern parts adjoining to it: to the government of which presidency they are very properly subordinated.

CONSIDERING too that this island is situated within the tropics, the climate of it is far from intolerable on account of its heat, in any time of the year; though never susceptible of any degree of cold beyond what must be rather agreeable to an European constitution. In the very hottest season, which immediately precedes the periodical return of the rains, the refreshment of the alternate land and sea-breezes is hardly ever wanting, the calms being generally of a very short duration; so that perhaps, in the year, there may be a few days of an extraordinary sultry heat, and even those may be made supportable, by avoiding any violent exercise, by keeping especially out of the malignant unmitigated glare and action of the sun, and by a light unoppressive dyet. Great care too should be taken of not exposing one self to the dangerous effect of the night-dews, and of the too quick transition from a state of open pores, to their perspiration being shut up; which is so often the case of those, who, from an impatience of heat, venture to sleep from under cover, in the raw air of the night, pleasantly indeed, but perniciously cooled by the absence of the sun: a circumstance yet more fatal, to such as have besides been heated by any intemperance in eating and drinking.

BOMBAY, in fact, had long borne an infamous character for unhealthfulness. It was commonly called the burying-ground of the English; but this was only until an experience, bought at the expence of a number of lives, had rendered the causes of such a mortality more known, and consequently more guarded against. Among others, the principal ones doubtless were:

FIRST,

FIRST, the nature of the climate, and the precautions and management required by it, not being so sufficiently known, as they now are; if that knowledge was but prevalent enough, with many, for them to sacrifice their pleasures of intemperance, or the momentary relief from a present irksomeness of heat, to the preservation of their healths.

FORMERLY too, there obtained a practice esteemed very pernicious to the health of the inhabitants, employing a manure for the coconut-trees, that grow in abundance on the island, consisting of the small fry of fish, and called by the country-name Buckshaw; which was undoubtedly of great service, both to augment, and meliorate their produce: but through its quantity being superficially laid in trenches round the root, and consequently the easier to be exhaled, diffused, as it putrified, a very unwholesome vapor. There are some, however, who deny this, and insist on the ill consequences of this manure to be purely imaginary, or at least greatly exaggerated; giving for reason, that the inhabitants themselves were never sensible of any noxious quality in that method; and that if the island is now less unhealthy, the change must be sought for in other causes. But all are agreed, that the habitations in the woods, or coconut-groves, are unwholesome, from the air wanting a free current through them; and from the trees themselves, diffusing a kind of vaporous moisture, unfavorable to the lungs, a complaint common to all close-wooded countries:

THERE has also been another reason assigned, for the island having grown healthier, from the lessening of the waters, by a breach of the sea being banked off; which however does not seem to me a satisfactory one. There is still subsisting a great body of salt water on the inside of the breach, the communication of which with the sea, being  
less

less free than before the breach was built, must be in proportion more apt to stagnate, and breed noxious vapors; so that this alteration by the breach cannot enter for much, if any thing, into the proposed solution, which may perhaps be better reduced into the before-mentioned one of the different diet, and manner of living of the Europeans: not however without taking into account, the place being provided with more skilful physicians than formerly, when there was less niceness in the choice of them. Surgeons, and surgeons-mates of ships, and those none of the expertest, used to be admitted almost without any, or but a superficial examination: though in so tender a point, as that of the life of subjects, always precious, and surely more so, where they are so difficult to recruit. The same negligence was also observed with respect to the galleys, and other armed vessels of the company in those parts: and to say the truth, the pay was too slender to invite into such service any capable persons. Here I cannot omit inserting, though digressively, one instance of a wanton disregard to that material point, of the truth of which I have been credibly assured. Mr. Phipps, one of the former governors, on examining the marine establishment of Bombay, wherein he proposed making retrenchments, by way of currying favor with his masters at home, which is often done, by the falsest, and most ruinous œconomy, observed the surgeons pay, rated at 42 rupees per month, which, at the usual way of reckoning of a rupee for half-a-crown, was just five guineas. "What, says he, there must be some mistake, the figures are transposed, it must be 24 instead of 42:" and for the sake of this, in every sense a barbarous joke, he, with a dash of his pen, curtailed the pay accordingly: but  
surely

surely this was rather cutting into the quick, than paring off excrescences.

WHATEVER may be the reason, the point is certain, that the climate is no longer so fatal to the English inhabitants as it used to be, and incomparably more healthy than many other of our settlements in India.

THE most common disorders are fevers, to which muscular strong men are more subject than those of laxer fibres; and bloody fluxes, but the last make much less ravage than they used to do, where they fixed, from the superior method of treating them. New-comers too especially are liable to some cutaneous eruptions, such as the prickly heat, which is rather reckoned beneficial than otherwise; and a sort of tetters, called ring-worms, from their circular form, about the size of a shilling, which however soon submit to a gentle physicking, or even to some slight outward application.

THE Barbeers, a violent disorder that generally ended in rendering all the limbs paralytic; and the mordechins, which is a fit of violent vomiting and purging, that often proved fatal, are distempers hardly now known on the island.

IN short, this place, the name of which used to carry terror with it, in respect to its unhealthiness, is now no longer to be dreaded on that account; provided any common measure of temperance be observed, without which the tenure of health, in any climate, must be hazardous.

THE seasons however can at most be divided into three; the cool, hot, and rainy: or indeed properly enough into the dry weather, which lasts eight months in the year; and into the wet, which continues about four months raining, but with short intermissions. The setting in of the rains, is commonly ushered in by a violent thunder-storm, generally called the Elephanta, a name which

it probably receives in the Asiatic style, from the comparison of its force to that of the elephant. Yet this is a pleasing prelude to the refreshment that follows, from the rains moderating that excessive heat, which is then at its height, and naturally brings on, with the sun that raises the vapors, the relief from its intense ardor. They begin about the 28th of May, and break up about the beginning of September, after which there is never any, unless, and that but rarely, a short transient shower. This rainy season, though extremely hot, in any dry intervals, when the sun shines out for a few hours, is counted the pleasantest: yet the end of it, and some days after, are not reckoned but the sickliest time of the whole year, from the abundance of exhalations forming a kind of faint, vaporous bath, from which those who lodge in apartments the highest from the ground are proportionably less in danger, the atmosphere growing gradually clearer upwards.

DURING this season the country-trading vessels are laid up, especially those belonging to the black-merchants, with whom it is a kind of superstition not to send any to sea, until after a festival on the breaking up of the rains; the ceremony of which consists chiefly in throwing, by way of oblation, a consecrated coconut into the sea, gilt and ornamented. Then and not till then they look on the sea as open and navigable until the next returning rains. How this solemn anniversary foolery came to be established, I never could learn from any of the natives; it being probably one of their many traditional customs, the original of which is lost in the remoteness of their antiquity.

## C H A P. II.

*Of the government of BOMBAY : its charter. Of the military and marine forces : militia. The piratory on that coast : measures to oppose it. Mildness and tolerancy of the ENGLISH government.*

THE government of this island is entirely English, subordinate to the court of directors of the united companies of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, who appoint, by commission, a president, to whom they join a council consisting of nine persons ; the whole number of which are rarely, or rather never on the spot, being employed as chiefs of the several factories subordinate to that presidency. Those of the council as are at Bombay are appointed to the posts of the greatest trust, such as accountant, warehouse-keeper, land-paymaster, marine-paymaster, and other offices for transacting the company's affairs. They are generally such as have risen by degrees from the station of writers, and take place, unless otherwise ordered from home, according to the seniority of the service.

THE president then, and such members of the council as are on the spot, being convened by his order, signified to them by the secretary, constitute a regular council, in which all matters are decided by majority of votes : though the influence of the president is generally so great, that few or no points are carried but according to his will, and dictates. For should any of the council oppose him, he has it so much in his power to make their situation uneasy to them, that they must quit the service, and repair home, where, unless the occasion of discontent is very flagrant indeed, they rarely meet with much countenance or redress,



the company thinking it rather more political to wink at the faults of a governor, where they are such as not to be too hurtful to their service, than to expose their affairs to the hazard of worse inconveniencies, from the dissensions of any number of absolutely co-ordinates. And to say the truth, this weight a top, though liable from human infirmity to be sometimes oppressive, serves to keep the under parts steady and fixt in their place: besides, it is easier to make one person accountable for the administration of things than a number; and since the president is he on whom the company chiefly relies, it seems but reasonable that he should have the greatest share of power.

As to the matters of a judicial nature, they were in the year 1727 settled by a royal charter, respectively obtained for the three chief presidencies of the company in India: to wit, Bombay; Fort St. George, or Madrafs, on the coast of Coromandel; and Calcutta in Bengal. How this charter was received or managed in the two last places, I have had no distinct account: but as to Bombay am better informed.

At the time this charter was procured for these settlements, it was generally believed to have been solicited by Mr. Harrison, once a governor of India, but at that time a director of the East-India company: who, in fact, meant it as a temporary expedient for preserving and extending his influence over the direction by this proof of his favor at court; though the plausible pretext alledged was the better administration of justice in those colonies. That such however could not be the true intention, must appear clearly from the neglect of all the proper and competent means for establishing it, especially with reference to Bombay; and indeed as to the two others, I never heard that there was any more care taken of them. The charter then appointing



pointing the judges of Oyer and Terminer, the mayor's court, and the court of appeals, this last to consist of purely the president and council, was only attended with a manuscript book of instructions; which, granting it was framed by the ablest lawyers in the kingdom, could be but a very imperfect guidance to the gentlemen nominated to the several judicial offices necessary to the execution thereof. These gentlemen being, generally speaking, such as came very young out of their country, bred up entirely in a mercantile way, and utterly unacquainted with the laws of England, were in course liable to make great mistakes, especially in cases of capital importance: and however their natural good sense and well-meaning might make a shift in purely commercial cases to decide with tolerable equity, they could not but be greatly at a loss in those of a mixed nature, or where it was necessary to pay a regard to the particular laws of England. No person had been sent out with capacity or knowledge enough to put this new method of procedure into a proper course, and to ascertain the limits of the several jurisdictions: so that the charter was left in a manner to execute itself. But this insufficiency of judgment was not even the worst of its consequences: for several of the company's servants, named especially to fill the offices of mayor and aldermen of the mayor's court, even though their jurisdiction was subordinate to the court of appeals, assumed to themselves such an authority and independence, as made the governor and council jealous of theirs being lessened, or at least checked by it. This bred such feuds and dissensions, that several of the members of the mayor's court conceiving themselves aggrieved, quitted the service, and repaired home to the company with their complaints. All which might have been in a great measure pre-

vented, if proper persons had been appointed, and sent out by the company, to give these new powers their due digestion and form. Whereas, as it was, the want of knowledge, the inexperience and aim at independence in the appointed members of the several courts, rendered this accession of authority a dangerous tool, in the hands of persons so disqualified for the exercise of it: so that it is scarce a doubt, but the charter had been better not obtained, than no better a provision have been made for its administration and maintenance. The neglect of such necessary precautions, are evidently fitter to give a sanction to unavoidable errors, and breed dissensions, than to promote a regular distribution of justice: for any such disposition, which could only be made by sending out persons competently learned in the law, and vested with a sufficient authority, would not only have been attended with a great expence, but might have too much interfered with the plan of government instituted by the company at home, and have broke that unity of direction, so necessary to the due subordination of their servants.

As to the military and marine force, it is considered as more immediately under the direction of the president, who is entitled general and commander in chief; though nothing material is supposed to be ordered concerning either without the concurrence of the council.

With respect to the military, the common men are chiefly such as the company sends out in their ships, or deserters from the several nations settled in India, Dutch, French, and Portuguese, which last are commonly known by the name of Reynolds (*Regnicolæ*); and lastly, Topazzes, mostly black, or of a mixed breed from the Portuguese, to whom, and indeed to all the Roman-catholics in the military service, there is not the least objection made,

or molestation given on account of their religion, of which they have the freest exercise imaginable ; nor is the least expediency of changing it even mentioned to them ; whereby they are so easy on that head, that they might safely be trusted in any war against those of their own religion, such as the French, or even against the Portuguese themselves. At least I never heard of any complaint relating thereto.

THESE are formed into companies under English officers, so as to compose the presidiary force of the island ; and are besides occasionally draughted off in detachments or parties sent upon command, either in the land-service, or in re-inforcement of the subordinate settlements, or on board the armed vessels, which constitute the companies marine in those parts.

IN the military may also be included many regularly formed companies of the natives. These soldiers are called sepoy, who have their proper officers with the titles in the country language, all however under the orders of the English. They use muskets, at which they are indifferently expert ; but they are chiefly armed in the country-manner, with sword and target, and wear the Indian dress, the turban, cabay or vest, and long drawers. Their pay is but small, comparatively to the Europeans ; and yet they are on many occasions very serviceable from their inurement to the climate, and diet of the country ; and are rarely known to misbehave or give way, if they are well-led, and encouraged by the example of the Europeans, with whom they are joined. Generally speaking too they are very faithful to the masters who pay them, or to use the expression familiar to the natives, to those whose salt they eat.

THERE is also on the island kept up a sort of militia, composed of the land-tillers, and banda-

rees, whose living depends chiefly on the cultivation of the coconut-trees ; who, though not regularly disciplined, would be of good service, especially in any laborious part of military duty, and would assist in the defence of the island, against any foreign invasion, for the sake of their families there settled and from attachment to the English government, the mildness and justice of which is the more sensible to them from the comparison obvious to make of it, to the oppression of the neighboring governments.

BESIDES the necessary charge of a presidary force, for the defence of the island, the company has been obliged for a number of years to keep up a military marine, for the protection of trade upon the coast, the whole length of which has, for time immemorial, been infested with pirates, and bears some resemblance to that part of the African coast, which has so long been infamous for this practice. Certain it is, that but for the constant check they were kept in by the English naval force in those parts, those seas would have swarmed with piratical vessels, and no trading one, unsufficiently armed, could have escaped them.

THE coast to the northward of Bombay and Surat, was chiefly the harbor of a nest of pirates, called Sanganiens, who seldom extended their cruize far beyond the latitude of their ports, and were especially troublesome to the trading vessels bound in or out of the Gulf of Persia : but they rarely attacked any ship of strength ; their cruizers being of no size, nor carrying any artillery equal to such an attempt, Their object too was chiefly plunder, without making slaves of those they found on captured vessels ; a rule which however they sometimes broke thorough, where there was any considerable ransom to be hoped.

ON the opposite coast, which forms the end of the Persian Gulf, were seated the Muskat-Arabs, whose first putting forth ships for cruizing was purely out of revenge against the Portuguese, whom they endeavored to harass by all means, and even proceeded so far, as to make descents on their settlements bordering upon Surat, where they committed all sort of devastations. But having once got a relish of pillaging such enemies at sea, they began to extend their attacks indiscriminately on other nations, and among them on the English, from whom however, after receiving various defeats, they were induced to abstain in future, and little by little taking a commercial bent, they have much remitted of that piratical turn, and keep vessels of force rather upon the defensive, than for any other purpose, and therewith held the power of the famous Shah-Nadir in defiance, who had the reduction of them much at heart.

FORMERLY too the Malabar coast, which though it gives its name to the sea-shore as high as Surat, properly begins at Mount-Dilly, was also noted for the pirates that it bred, who greatly disturbed the navigation of the Indian seas. These were long ago quieted by the Portuguese armaments; and since, having been not only overpowered by the English, but discountenanced by the country-governments, who used to give them harbor and protection, are now dwindled to nothing.

TO the northward of Goa, there were several petty chiefs, who carried on this piratical course; but at length came to an amicable correspondence with the English, from their dread and jealousy of the superior and growing power of Angria, their common enemy, though from different reasons.

IT was then principally on account of Angria, whose dominions stretched from the mouth of  
Bombay

Bombay harbor, down a great length of coast without a material interruption, that the company was, in its own defence, obliged to keep on foot a very expensive maritime force. This force consisted chiefly of gallies built here in England, on the most beautiful models that can be imagined, carrying about eighteen or twenty guns, and provided with oars, which were of special service in a calm. They had also a few grabs, being vessels of much the same burthen, but built in the country, on the model of Angria's grabs, with prows, which seem best calculated for carrying chace-guns. The scheme of those people's gunnery being chiefly to get into the wake of their enemy, and rake him fore-and-aft; a kind of quarter-master conducting the vessel till he brings the masts of his chace into one, at the instant of which he gives the word for firing, and commonly does the greatest execution in the rigging, after which they have the easier market of the vessel thus disabled. Otherwise, they are too slightly built to lay along-side of any ship of the least weight of metal. Their great stress lies on those prow-guns, which they manage to special advantage in a calm, having armed boats to tow them a-stern of the vessel they attack, and which for want of wind cannot avoid them. Of these armed boats called Gallevats, the company maintains also a competent number, for the service of their marine, being not only of use to oppose them to the enemy, but for pursuit; or expeditions in shoal-water. For further strengthening too of the naval force in those parts, the company occasionally stations at Bombay some larger built ships from Europe; which, for their superior weight of metal, and greater difficulty of boarding, especially in deep water, with any thing of a commanding gale, have nothing to fear from



from those slight vessels; though, in a calm, they might gall and plague them sufficiently.

ALL these vessels that formed the military marine of Bombay were chiefly manned with English, or with European deserters from other nations; and according to the exigency reinforced with detachments of soldiers from the land-forces, to serve in the nature of marines. These vessels were to guard the navigation of those seas, and convoy the trade employed on collateral services; such as protecting the interest of the company, or vindicating its honor, where requisite within the bounds of that presidency's department; as in the Red Sea, Gulf of Persia, the Bar of Surat, &c.

BUT whatever care could be taken of employing these cruizers to safety and advantage, it could scarce happen otherwise, but that Angria, always alert, and who knew too well the inferiority of his strength, to attack them without great odds on his side, should now and then over-match them so with numbers, as to get the better; but as more will be said of him hereafter, I shall drop him here.

TOWARDS defraying the charges of this marine, the company required of all the trading vessels, those of the other European nations excepted, to take the passes of the Bombay-government, for which they paid so small a consideration, that I never heard the least murmuring; the merchants being duly sensible not only of the benefit their trade received from the English protection, but that this contribution was far short of the cost of it.

NOTHING however has more contributed to the population of this island, than the mildness of the government and the toleration of all religions; there not being suffered the least violence or injury to be offered, either to the natives or Europeans on that account. The Roman-catholic churches, the Moorish



Moorish moschs, the Gentoopagodas, the worship of the Parsees, are all equally unmolested and tolerated. They have the free exercise of all their rites and religious ceremonies, without either the English interfering, or their clashing with one another. This toleration also makes a contrast very favorable for our nation, to the rigors of the inquisition, which take place in the neighboring territories of the Portuguese, whose having rendered themselves odious on that account, was not one of the least reasons that facilitated their being driven out of the greatest part of them by the Morattoes, who are all Gentoos. Mr. Bouchier, the present governor, has greatly exerted himself, on the troubles of the government at Surat, and in the countries round about, to draw a confluence of their inhabitants, merchants, and tradesmen to settle at Bombay, where they experience quite another treatment and security than under their own governments. In truth, this gentleman's conduct cannot be too much commended for his incessant endeavors at increasing the population, and improving or enlarging the trade of the island; especially for his care of cultivating peace and friendship with those dangerous and powerful neighbors the Morattoes; who, being now masters of the contiguous island of Salsett, can at pleasure streighten the supplies of the island, and interrupt its inland communication. But of them more in its place.

## C H A P. III.

*Of the state of landed property on the island. ENGLISH, how ill used by the PORTUGUESE in the cession of this island. Land-proprietors. PARELL the governor's country-house. Coconut-oarts : rice-fields. Brab-trees ; toddy-birds. Cultivation improved ; to what owing.*

IT is to be observed, that when the cession of this island and harbor was first made to the English by the Portuguese, although so far deficient as it was, against the terms of agreement between the two crowns ; and that the island of Salsett, which was manifestly included in the regalities of Bombay, was unjustly withheld from us, and consequently greatly lessened the importance of an island, which must chiefly depend for its support on that of Salsett : the Portuguese also clogged the surrender of even this small part of what was our due, with the condition that the inhabitants, late their subjects, were to enjoy their possessions in the same manner as before we took possession. The island was then, and still continues, divided into three roman-catholic parishes, or Freguezias, as they call them ; which are Bombay, Mahim, and Salvaçam ; the churches of which, are governed by roman-catholic priests, of any nation but the Portuguese, against whom the English wisely objected, from the danger of their connection and too close correspondence with the priests of their own nation, in the neighboring Portuguese dominions, of whom we had repeated reasons to be jealous. The bulk then of the land-proprietors were roman-catholic Mestizos and Canarins. The first are a mixed breed of the natives and Portuguese : the other purely aborigines of the country, converted

converted to what the Portuguese call the Faith. The other land-owners were Moors, Gentoos, and Parsees; but these last are of modern date, having since purchased on the island. However, to all these the article of security to their property has been inviolably kept, and the right of inheritance is regulated according to the respective laws and customs of the several denominations of cast or religion. The land is chiefly employed in coconut-groves, or oarts; rice-fields, and onion-grounds, which are reckoned of an excellent sort on this island.

THE company have also acquired a considerable landed estate, either by purchases, confiscations for crimes, or treasons, and seizures for debt; for which estate there is a particular officer, under the title of super-intendant appointed to administer.

THERE are two very pleasant gardens belonging to the company, cultivated after the European manner: the one a little way out of the gates, open to any of the English gentlemen who like to walk there; the other much larger and finer, at about five miles distance from the town, at a place called Parell, where the governor has a very agreeable country-house, which was originally a Romish chapel belonging to the jesuits, but confiscated about the year 1719, for some foul practices against the English interest. It is now converted into a pleasant mansion-house, and what with the additional buildings, and improvements of the gardens, affords a spacious and commodious habitation. There is an avenue to it of a hedge and trees near a mile long; and, though near the seaside, is sheltered from the air of it by a hill between. Here the governor may spend most part of the heats; the air being cooler and fresher than in town; and nothing is wanting that may make a country-retirement agreeable.

As to the oarts, or coconut-groves, they make the most considerable part of the landed property; being planted wherever the situation and soil is favorable to them. When a number of these groves lie contiguous to each other, they form what is called the woods, through which there is a due space left for roads and pathways, where one is pleasantly defended from the sun at all hours in the day. They are also thick-set with houses belonging to the respective proprietors, as well as with huts of the poorer sort of people. I have before remarked, that they are however reckoned unwholesome for want of a free ventilation.

As to the coconut-tree itself, not all the minute descriptions of it, which I have met with in many authors, seem to me to come up to the reality of its wonderful proprieties and use. Nothing is so unpromising as the aspect of this tree; nor none yields a produce more profitable, or more variously beneficial to mankind: it has some resemblance to the palm-tree; perhaps, one of its species: the leaves of it serve for thatching, the husk of the fruit for making cordage, and even the largest cables for ships. The kernel of it is dried, and yields an oil much wanted for several uses, and makes a considerable branch of traffic under the name of Copra. Arrack, a coarse sort of sugar called Jagree, and vinegar are also extracted from it, besides many other particulars too tedious to enumerate. The cultivation of it is extremely easy, by means of channels conveying water to the roots, and by a manure laid round them, of which I have spoke already. An owner then of two hundred of these trees is reckoned to have a competency to subsist on.

As to the rice-fields, they differ in value, according to the fineness and quantity of rice they produce. The growth of this grain has a particularity

cularity not unworth mentioning; which is, that as it loves a watry soil, so to whatever height the water rises, wherever it is planted, the growth of the rice keeps measure with it, even to that of twelve or fourteen foot, the summit of the stalk always appearing above the surface. It is also remarked, that the eating of new rice affects the eyes. The fact is certain, though I cannot assume to give the physical reason for it.

THERE are also here and there interspersed a few brab-trees, or rather wild palm-trees; (the word brab being derived from *Brabo*, which in Portuguese signifies wild) that bear an insipid kind of fruit, about the bigness of a common pear: but the chief profit from them is the toddy, or liquor drawn from them by incisions at the top, of which the arrack that is made is reckoned better than that from the coconut-trees. They are generally near the sea-side, as they delight most in a sandy soil. It is on this tree that the toddy-birds, so called from their attachment to that tree, make their exquisitely curious nests, wrought out of the thinnest reeds and filaments of branches, with an inimitable mechanism. The birds themselves are of no value either for plumage, song, or the table, and are about the bigness of a partridge.

THIS island is however a strong instance of the benefits of a good government, and a numerous population, by not a spot of it remaining uncultivated: so that though it is far from producing sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants; and notwithstanding its many disadvantages of situation and soil, it yields, in proportion to its bigness, incomparably more than the adjacent island of Salvett; whether under the government of the Portuguese, or, as it now is, under that of the Morattoes.

## C H A P. IV.

*Of the fortifications, public works, and buildings of BOMBAY. The castle might have been better situated: the town walled round: out-forts: the breach: ENGLISH church. Private buildings and GENTOO pagodas. Malabar hill. Story of a GENTOO GIOGHY. Rock of purification.*

WHEN the English first took possession of this island, they found in that part of it, which chiefly commands the harbor, an old fortified house, the residence of the Portuguese governor; and though this house might have served for other valuable uses, they were tempted to make it the centre-house of the castle which they built round it. It is however impossible to conceive, in every sense, a more incommodious structure; and the same, or perhaps less cost, than the reparations and additions have stood in to the company, would have built a much better mansion new from the ground. Yet the false economy of preserving this old piece of building, which need not to have been demolished or thrown away, had such effect, that it hindered the English not only from consulting a more commanding situation to the harbor; which is that of Mendham's Point; but made them blind to the disadvantage of the fort built round it; being overlooked by an eminence near it, called Dungharee Point; on which there is only a small untenable little fort, of no defence, and which serves now for the town prison, for debtors, or criminals.

THE castle however itself deserved a better situation; being a regular quadrangle, well-built of strong hard stone. In one of the bastions of it that faces Dungharee Point, there is a large tank or cistern hollowed, which contains a great quantity



tity of water, that is constantly replenished by the stationary rains. There is also a well within the fort: but the water is not extremely good, and liable to be dried up in the heats. It is also to be observed, that the water in general on the island is not reckoned the best; and has been given for a reason why the Gentoo merchants were not so forward to settle on it. Water being a point of great consequence with them; for as they drink no spirituous liquors, they are very curious and discerning in the taste and qualities of waters.

SOME years after, as the town grew more populous, it was judged expedient to add the security of a wall round it; and even then, they neglected to take in, as they might have done by a small extension, that dangerous post of Dungharee, which evidently now commands both town and castle. The curtains however between the bastions, were of little more strength or substance than a common garden wall: but there has lately been added at a great expence a ditch that encompasses the wall, and can be flooded at pleasure, by letting in the sea, at which the ditch terminates on two sides, so that the town is thoroughly surrounded with water. It is now one of the strongest places by much that the company have in India; and, considering the commodiousness of its harbor, might not be improperly made their capital place of arms, in the same nature as Batavia serves the Dutch: especially if the envious Portuguese had not detained us from that fertile large island of Salsett, which would have compleatly served for a granary to it. Instead of which, their supine indolent government suffered the Jesuits, who are better known in India by the appellation of Paulists, from their head church and convent of St. Paul's in Goa, to get by degrees, and with their usual arts and management of the laity, by much the greatest part of that island



island into their own hands; and which they kept wretchedly fortified, so that it fell an easy conquest to the Morattoes, and at the same time we lost an useful barrier between us and that rapacious people.

At proper posts, round the island, there are disposed several little out-forts and redoubts; as at Mazagam, Sion, Suree, and Worlee: none of which are capable of making any long defence. The fort of Mahim is by much the most considerable, next to that of Bombay; being situate at the opposite extremity lengthways of the island. It commands the pass of Bandurah; a fort which almost fronts it on the opposite shore of Salsert, from which it is divided by an arm of the sea, that is however capable only of receiving small craft, that does not bring in great business to the custom-house established there.

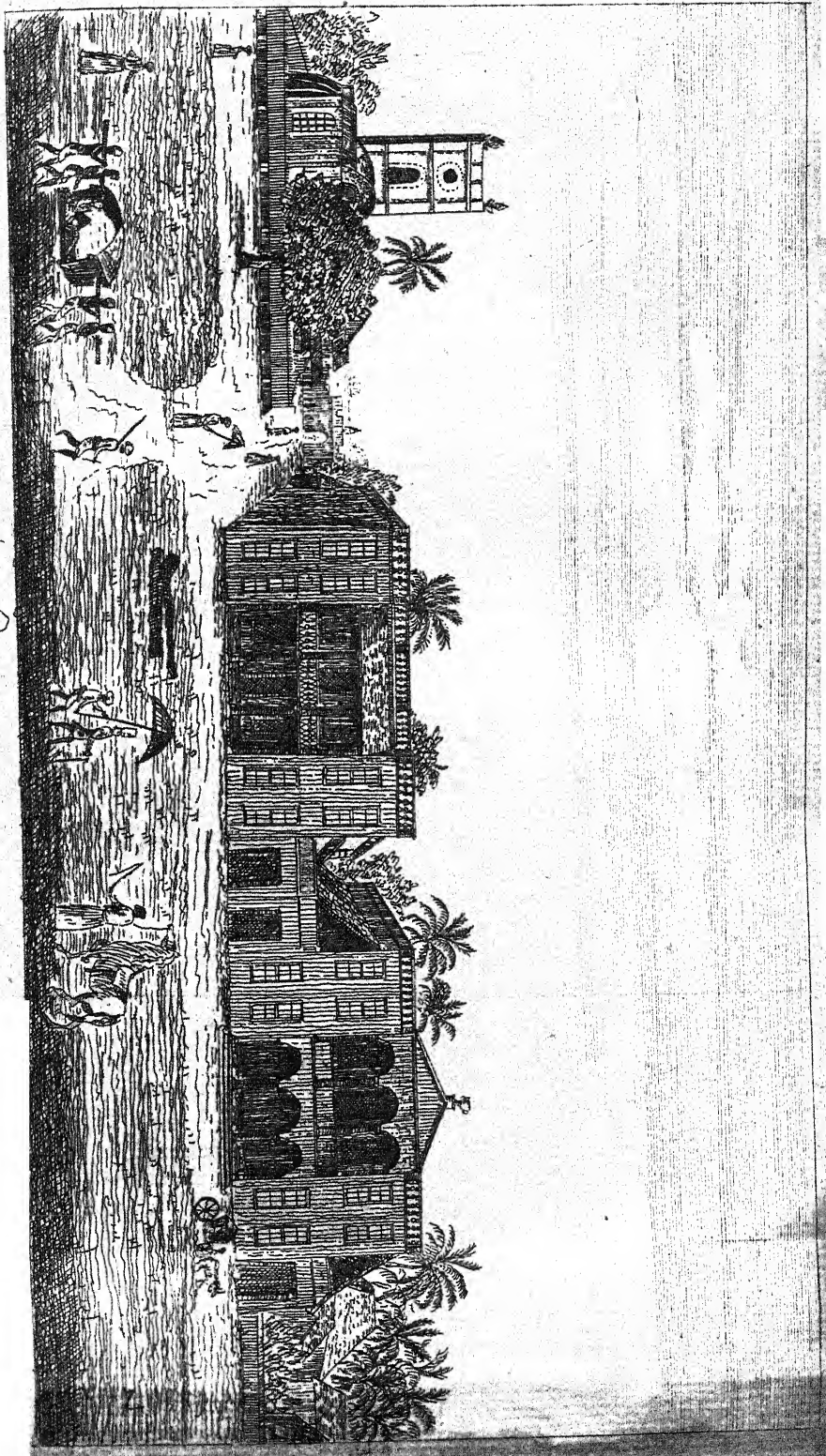
THE breach is the work that next claims mention, and is the most considerable for the cost of it. About two miles out of town, towards the middle of the island, the sea had so gained upon it with its irruption, that it almost divided the island in two, and made the roads impassable. It did not then only take up a large expence to drain off a great quantity of this water, but to make a causeway that should bank off this inundation. This causeway is above a quarter of a mile in length, and of a considerable breadth: but there is one gross fault remarked in it, that being bending near its middle, the architect has opposed to the sea a re-entering angle instead of a saliant one. Perhaps he had his reasons, but at least they do not appear. In the meantime, there still lies within the breach a considerable body of water, that has a free communication with the sea, as appears by its ebbing and flowing, and probably is but the wholesomer for it. Though it is not unlikely that this subterraneous intercourse

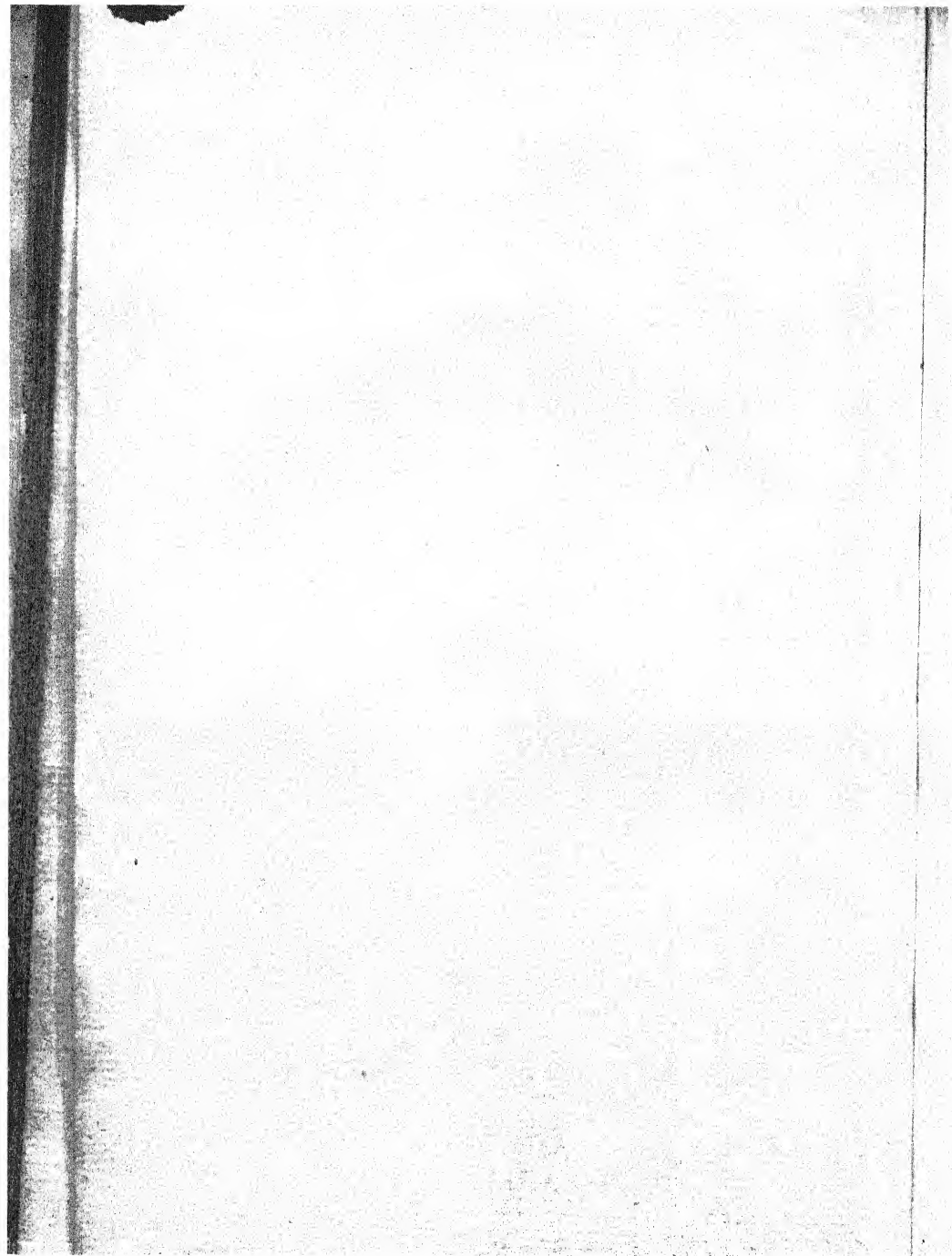
may, in process of time, undermine and blow up the cause-way. After all then I am far from convinced, that the benefits accruing from the breach are equal to the expence of it; which, I am assured, could not be much less than a hundred thousand pounds.

THE only English church at Bombay, and which is full sufficient for any possible congregation of them at it, is a building extremely neat, commodious, and airy; being situate on what is called the Green; a spacious area that continues from the fort thereto, and is pleasantly laid out in walks planted with trees, round which are mostly the houses of the English inhabitants.

THESE are generally but ground-floored after the roman fashion, and mostly with a court-yard before and behind, in which are the offices and out-houses. They are substantially built with stone, lime, and smooth plaistered on the out-side. They are often kept white-washed, which has a neat air; but very offensive to the eyes from the glare of the sun. Few of them have glass windows to any apartment, the sashes being generally paned with a kind of transparent oyster-shells square-cut; which have the singular property of transmitting the light full sufficiently, at the same time that they exclude the violence of its glare, and have besides a cool look. The flooring is generally composed of a kind of loam or stucco, called Chunam, being a lime made of burnt shells; which, if well tempered, as they have a peculiar art of it, is extremely hard and lasting, and takes so smooth a polish, that one may literally see one's face in it: but where terrasses are made of it, unless the chunam is duly prepared, and which is very expensive, is apt to crack with the violence of the sun's heat. There have been also some attempts to paint the stucco walls in apartments: but they have

The West side of Romney Green





have never succeeded, being presently spoiled, and discolored by the saline particles of the lime, for which hitherto there has been found no cure.

AND here I cannot omit mentioning an use made at Surat of this manner of terrassing, for I saw no such thing at Bombay; some having, instead of gravel walks in their gardens, stucco ones, a little raised above the garden-beds: so that they must be dry to walk on immediately after the most violent rain: but then, what with their whiteness and polish, they must have a very disagreeable effect on the eye, in a sun-shiny day; besides their being so slippery.

THE houses of the black merchants, as they are called; though some are far from deserving the appellation of black; are for the most part extremely ill built, and incommodious; the window-lights small, and the apartments ill distributed. Some however, make a better appearance, if only a story high: but not the best of them are without a certain meanness in the manner, and clumsiness in the execution that may be observed, comparatively, and without any partiality to the European architecture, even the most ordinary.

THERE is yet a convenience most of those houses either of the English or natives have; which are small ranges of pillars that support a pent-house or shed, forming what is called, in the Portuguese lingua-franca, *Verandas*, either round, or on particular sides of the house, which afford a pleasing shelter against the sun, and keep the inner apartments cool and refreshed by the draught of air under them. Such colonnades might methinks even in England not be unserviceable to summer-houses especially; which being so heated by a constant sun in the middle of the day, as to be hardly tolerable, cannot be supposed to be cooled fast enough even in the evening to allow of



their being a refreshing retreat. It is under these Verandas that the owners, especially the natives, generally enjoy the fresh air, and often transact their business or receive visitants.

MOST however of the best houses are within the walls of the town; which may be about a mile in circuit.

As for the pagodas of the Gentoos, there is not one of them worth mentioning in regard to their appearance; being low mean buildings; commonly admitting the light only at the door, facing which is placed the principal idol, made after the various imaginations they have of the subaltern deities they worship, of which more will be said in its place. They fancy, it seems, that a dark gloomy place inspires a kind of religious horror and reverence. They are remarkably fond of having those pagodas among trees, and near the side of a tank, or pond, for the sake of their ablutions; which they do, not like the Mahometans, so much practice as a religious ceremony, as purity for cleanliness; and I might add, for the voluptuousness of them in those hot countries. These tanks, or ponds, are often very expensive works, being generally square, and surrounded with stone-steps, that are very commodious to the bathers. The most remarkable pagoda on the island is on Malabar-hill, which is something more than two miles distance out of town, and is a kind of promontory that stretching into the sea, forms, together with a small island called Old Woman's Island, what is called Back Bay, the entry of which is shut up by a ledge of rocks running from the one to the other. On this hill, which is far from an high one, and of easy ascent, about a mile from that ascent, after passing a plain a-top of it, on a gentle declivity to the sea-side, stands the Gentoos pagoda, with a large tank or pond a few feet from it, and is of  
fresh

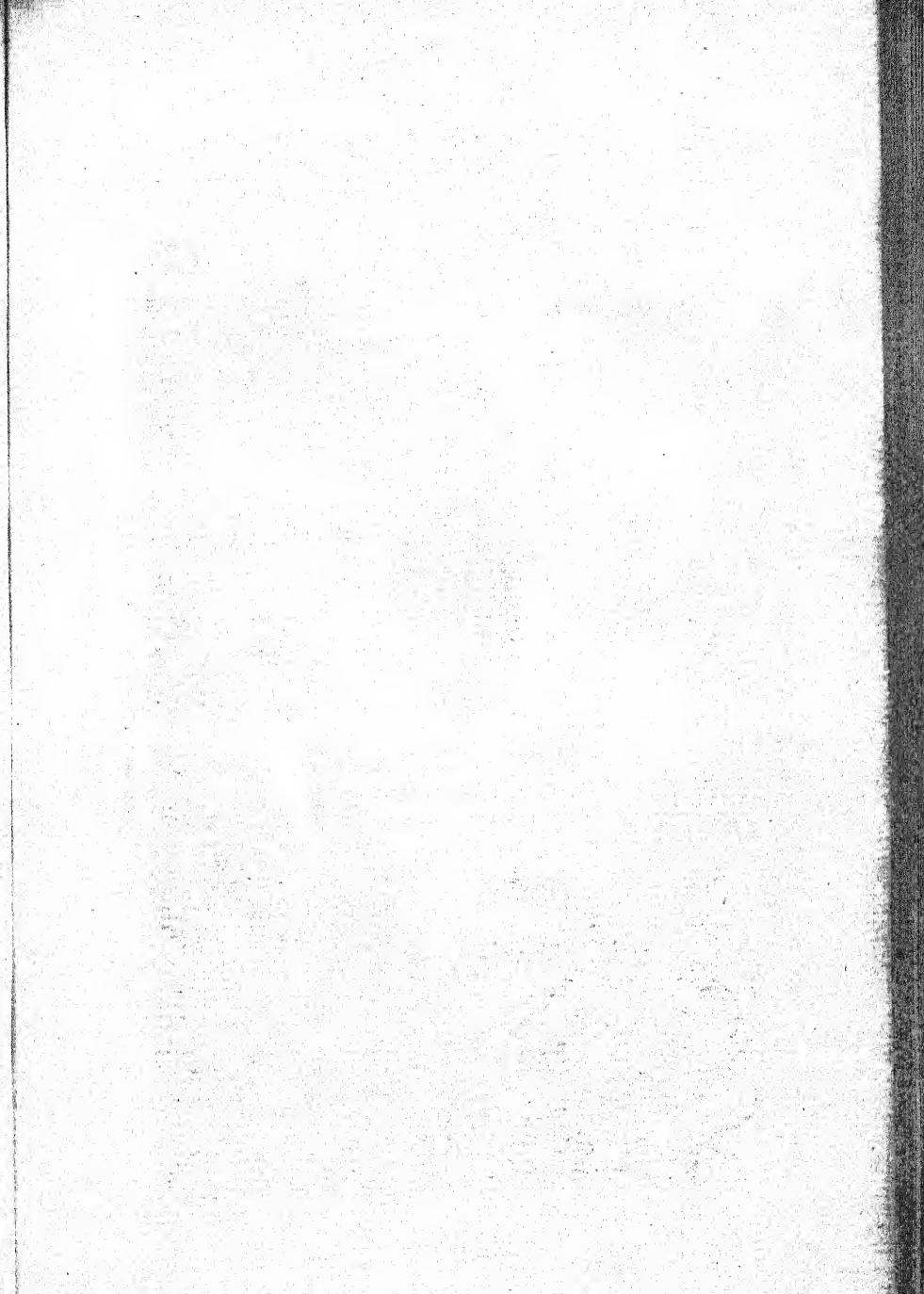


fresh water, formed by the draining of the rains, though not many yards from the sea, with which it is near on a level, on the side that is open to it, all but where the pagoda stands between a part of it and the shore. The other three sides are surrounded with trees that form an amphitheatre, on the slopes of the hill towards it, than which no prospect that I ever saw, or can conceive, forms a more agreeably wild landscape. The trees open to all the force of the winds, follow the general law, and take a strong bent to the opposite point from them, but with such regularity, that one would think they had been trimmed or pruned to that figure they exhibit. These trees give one the idea of the temple-groves, so often pictured in the antients. A little beyond that spot, towards the extremity of the hill, was built a very small pagoda, of no manner of appearance, or worth mentioning, but for the sake of the founder of it, an itinerant Gioghi or Gentoo vagrant priest, who not twenty years ago was at the expence of it, out of the alms and voluntary donations collected from those of his religion on the island. And as there is something in his history that characterises them, I shall summarily insert it here, as I received it from a Gentoo who knew him, and hope I shall be forgiven the digression.

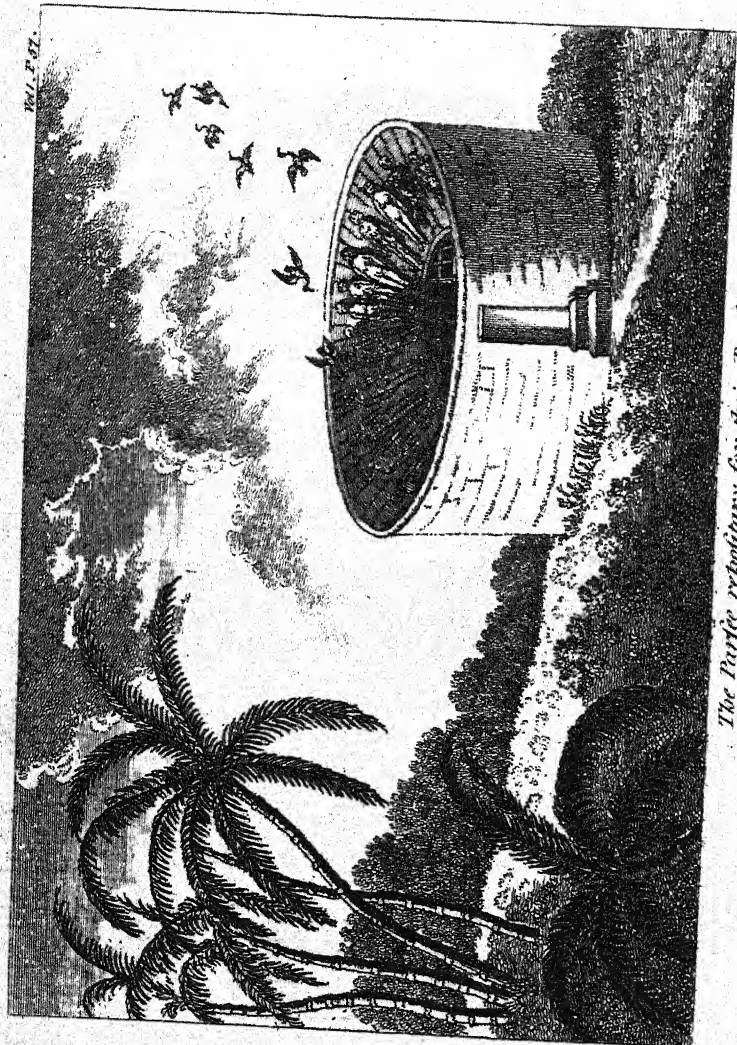
THIS man, when he first came on the island, might be about five and thirty years of age; tall, strait, and well-made. By his account, and a very probable one, considering their profession of vagrancy, he had been all over Tartary, Thibet, and on the borders of China. At length he took Bombay in his rounds, and here, though according to his institution, which is strictly that of the old Gymnosophist of India, so plainly and so truly mentioned in antient history, he ought to have gone stark-naked; yet, out of deference to our

manners, when he took his station up on this hill, he just covered those parts which the common ideas of decency oblige to conceal, not so much, but that might plainly be seen a brass ring passed through the prepuce, which does to those of his profession, the same office as a padlock or girdle of chastity is supposed to do to the Italian women. His hair too, which was twice the length of his body, that is to say, reaching down to his heels, and thence to the crown of his head again, was wreathed in rolls round, and rose in a kind of spire of a russet color, into which it was sun-burnt from its original black. This man, on his arrival at Bombay, addressed himself solemnly to the Gentoos, and to them only, for money towards founding the small pagoda I have mentioned; nor indeed did I hear it suggested that he applied it to any other use. But his scheme for exciting their devotion was something extraordinary. He preached to them from the midst of a great fire which surrounded him, and had something of a miraculous air, though there was nothing but what was very natural in it. He had a platform of earth made of the elevation of about two foot, and about twelve or fourteen foot square. Round this was set a pile of wood, which, being lighted, made him appear as if preaching from amidst the flames, though they never touched him; but must have been unsupportable to any except himself, who had been from his childhood inured by degrees to bear such a heat. This device had its effect, for it produced to him a collection, at several times, to the amount of what he required.

And here I cannot quit Malabar-hill, without mentioning another particularity of it. At the very extreme point of it, there is a rock on the descent to the sea, flat a-top, in which there is a natural crevice, that communicates with a hollow  
that



Vol. P. 27.



*The Pacific repository for their Dead.*  
*Published as the Act directs 12 Feb. 1773.*

that terminates at an exterior opening to the sea. This place is used by the Gentoos, as a purification of their sins, which they say is effected by their going in at the opening, and emerging out of the crevice, which seemed too narrow for persons of any corpulence to squeeze through. However, this ceremony is of such repute, in the neighbouring countries, that there is a tradition that the famous Conajee Angria ventured by stealth, one night, on the island, on purpose to perform this ceremony, and got off undiscovered.

Eastward of the middle of Mallabar hill stands a stone building, used by the Parsees for depositing their dead, it being contrary to their religion to bury them. This building is circular, 25 feet in diameter, and 12 high, open at the top; in its center is a well or pit grated over, round which is a stone platform, sloping from the sides to the center. On this platform the dead bodies are exposed to the birds of prey, such as Kites and Vultures, which are here in great numbers. These immediately seize on the corps, commonly beginning with the eyes; a man is kept on purpose to observe carefully which eye the birds first pick out, and on this they form their conjecture of the state of the soul of the defunct, the right being that which denotes happiness.

The moisture from the corps, and the remains left by the birds, falls through the grate, thereby making room for succeeding bodies.

The Parsees believe, that any one looking into this building, except the person whose immediate business it is, will in consequence thereof shortly die. I once went up to examine it. A Parsee in a friendly manner begged me to desist; assuring me, that I should not long survive the gratification of this idle curiosity.



*Of the islands adjacent to BOMBAY, &c.*

THE first island stretching from Bombay, from which it is separated by the sea at flood, and passable at ebb, is called Old Woman's island, but for what reason I know not. It is a narrow strip of land, about two miles long, terminating at the end in a small eminence, or hillock, upon which a look-out-house is kept for vessels. Near the middle of this island are three tombs, kept constantly white, as land-marks into the harbor. From the end of the island shoots forth a dangerous ledge of rocks, which require a good birth to clear them. For the rest, it produces nothing remarkable, and yields only a scanty foddering for a few cattle; and is rented out at about 20 l. or 200 rupees per annum.

At the harbor's mouth lie two small fortified rocks, called Henara, and Canara, which you leave on the right hand as you enter it. These were formerly in the hands of Angria, and the Siddees, or Moors, which last have been long dispossessed of them. In the possession of an enemy they would be disadvantageous to us, overlooking our harbor; but probably they must fall into the hands of the Morattoes, who have lately swallowed up most of the neighbouring country, and to whom such a seizure can make but a trifling accession of power.

Opposite our castle, at three miles distance is Butcher's island, so called from cattle being kept there for the use of Bombay, where we keep an ensign's guard, with a fort, not of much more defence than a pidgeon-house; tho' in the hands of an enemy it would serve to strengthen the harbor greatly. It is very small, its utmost length not being two miles, and in breadth no where scarce one.

About three miles from thence lies the island of Caranja, in size inconsiderable, and lately belonging to the Portuguese; but fell with many other of their neighbour-



of the Morattoes. It affords nothing but a little rice, fowls, goats, and garden-stuff for the Bombay market.

Two miles from Butcher's island, and still fronting the fort, lies the small but famous island of Elephanta. It can at most be about three miles in compass, and consists of almost all hill; at the foot of which as you land, you see just above the shore on your right hand, an elephant, coarsely cut out in stone, of the natural bigness, and at some little distance not impossible to be taken for a real elephant, from the stone being naturally of the color of that beast. It stands on a platform of stones of the same color. On the back of this elephant was placed standing another young one, appearing to have been all of the same stone, but has been long broken down. Of the meaning, or history of this image, there is no tradition old enough to give any account.

RETURNING then to the foot of the hill, you ascend an easy slant, which about half way up the hill brings you to the opening or portal of a large cavern hewn out of the solid rock, into a magnificent temple; for such surely it may be termed, considering the immense workmanship of such an excavation, and seems to me a far more bold attempt than that of the pyramids of Egypt. There is a fair entrance into this subterraneous temple, which is an oblong square, in length about eighty or ninety foot, by forty broad. The roof is nothing but the rock cut flat a-top, and in which I could not discern any thing that did not shew it to be all of one piece. It is about ten foot high, and supported towards the middle at equidistance from the sides, and from one another, with two regular rows of pillars of a singular order. They are very massive, short in proportion to their thickness, and their capital bears some resemblance to a round

round cushion, pressed by the super-incumbent mountain, with which they are also of one piece. At the further end of this temple are three gigantic figures, the face of one of which is at least five foot in length, and of a proportionable breadth : but these representations have no reference or connection either to any known history, or to the mythology of the Gentoos. They had also continued in a tolerable state of preservation and wholeness, considering the remoteness of their antiquity, until the arrival of the Portuguese, who made themselves masters of this place, and in the blind fury of their bigotry, not suffering any idols but their own, they must have been at even some pains to maim and deface them, as they now remain, considering the hardness of the stone. It is said, they even brought field-pieces to the demolition of images, which so greatly deserved to be spared for the unequalled curiosity of them. Of this queen Catherine of Portugal was it seems so sensible, that she could not conceive that any traveller could return from that side of India, without visiting the wonders of this cavern ; of which too the sight appeared to me to exceed all the descriptions I had ever read of them. About two thirds of the way up this temple, on each side, and fronting each other, are two doors or out-lets, into smaller grotts or excavations, and freely open to the air. Near and about the door-way, on the right hand, are also several mutilated images, single and in groupes. In one of the last I remarked a kind of resemblance to the story of Solomon dividing the child, there standing a figure with a drawn sword, holding in one hand an infant with the head downwards, which it appears in act to cleave through the middle. The out-let of the other on the left hand, is into an area of about twenty feet in length, and twelve in breadth, at the upper end  
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of which, as you turn to the right, presents itself a colonnade covered a-top, of ten or twelve foot deep, and in length answering to the breadth of the area; this joins to an apartment of the most regular architecture, an oblong square, with a door in perfect symmetry; and the whole executed in quite a different taste and manner from the oldest or best Gentoo buildings any where extant. I took particular notice of some painting round the cornishes, not for any thing curious in the design, but for the beauty and freshness of the coloring, which must have lasted for some thousands of years, on supposing it, as there is all reason so to do, cotemporary with the building itself. The floor of this apartment is generally full of water, its pavement or ground-work not permitting it to drain off or be soaked up. For it is to be observed, that even the cavern itself is not visitable after the rains, until the ground of it has had time to dry into a competent hardness.

In the mean time it seems to me somewhat surprizing, that so admirable, so stupendous a work as this which one would think almost above the reach of human performance, cannot by any books or tradition, that ever I could hear of, be traced up to its authors, no not even by conjecture. For to give that name to the ridiculous opinion of its having been executed by Alexander's order, would be doing it too much honor. In the first place, it is clear both by history and tradition, that the Macedonian conqueror never penetrated so far into India. Or was it even true that he did, What likelihood is there that he should employ his army, or any body of men, on a little island not three miles in circuit, without a drop of fresh water on it, and quite wide of his route, to hew such a temple out of the middle of a mountain, the bare excavation of which out of a solid rock must have  
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taken a number of years? To say nothing of the chizzeling it into the regular form of pillars, and the rest of the architecture which it to this day exhibits. Besides, there is not in the images, or sculptures, to be found the least shadow of allusion to the history, manners, or worship of the Macedonians; and what is yet more unaccountable, no not even of the Gentoos. The likeliest conjecture then that occurs is, that the religion of these last must have undergone some revolution (though this they strictly deny) and that this temple must be the work of the old Aborigines of the country. This conjecture is confirmed by the present Gentoos not retaining, that ever I could learn, any veneration for this place, or any regard for it, but on account of its undoubted antiquity. Perhaps, if a proper enquiry was to be made, there might be found among some of the Bramins of the continent, who are the depositories of the antientest histories, as well as of oral traditions, some accounts whereby to ascertain the epoch and origin of this next-to-miraculous work, so as to satisfy the curiosity of the lovers of antiquity, and who could never have a more noble object. In the mean time, it were to be wished, that some good draughtsman would oblige the public with accurate drawings and dimensions taken on the spot, examining withal the continuity of the rock thus excavated, the hardness of it, and calculating the time, and numbers of men it must have taken up to bring it into its form. For certainly there is to be found in it wherewithal to exercise worthily the pencil of a Cornelius le Brun, whose justness cannot enough be commended; and it is impossible for mere verbal description to give an adequate idea of it.

THIS place being so near Bombay, affords the English inhabitants there, not only an easy opportunity of gratifying their curiosity, in visiting

so remarkable a spot, but occasionally of a very agreeable party of pleasure. Sometimes in their way thither they dine at Butcher's island, on account of the conveniency of the officer's house to receive them. Others again prefer carrying their provisions with them, and dine in the cave itself, than which, in the most sultry days of the heats, there cannot be imagined a cooler and more pleasant retreat. For though the air be almost on fire, you are no sooner entered the cave, than you are refreshed with a sensible coolness. The three openings abovementioned not only furnishing sufficient light, but a thorough draught of air, that does not so much convey freshness into the cave, as it receives it from its constant temperature, preserved to it by its impenetrability to the sun, from the thickness of the mountainous mass above it: and even the light that comes into it through the portals, has lost by the way all the force of those fiery-particles, to which it gives so great an activity. For it is observed in India, as well as in all hot countries, that the exclusion of light, is in some measure an exclusion of heat, and that but darkening an apartment only, sensibly cools it. This rule admits of no exception, except in places where the soil and situation are of such a nature, as to continue the heat, even after the actual presence of the sun is withdrawn; as in Gombroon on the coast of Persia for example, where a high massive hill behind it, to which it is a kind of focal point, and the bituminous quality of the earth, are circumstances that do not allow of the air's cooling between the sun-set and sun-rise.

BUT, asking pardon for this digression, and resuming my present subject, I am to observe, that for the rest, this island contains nothing more that is worthy of notice. There are not above two or three huts upon it; which is not surprizing, considering



sidering the little land there is to cultivate, and that there is no water on it, but what may be saved from the rains. The growth of the hill itself is only underwood, and grass; which, in the dry season, are often set on fire, and will continue burning for three or four days; attended with this benefit, of fertilizing any cultivable spots on it, and of the salts being washed down by the rains into the lower grounds; a practice that is much followed in all those countries, which they call burning the land.

To the northward of the island of Bombay, and in one place, at Sion, only divided from it by a narrow pass fordable at low water, lies the comparatively great and fertile island of Salsetty; our being defrauded of which is a loss can never enough be regretted, and is at this day so bitterly felt by the company, and in coarse so detrimentally to the English interest.

It is in length about twenty-six miles, and on a medium breadth of eight or nine. The soil very rich, and improvable by cultivation into the bearing of every thing producible between the tropics. It is every where well-watered, but was employed by the Portuguese chiefly to raise rice, with which it used to furnish Goa, and was called its granary. There is also great store of almost all manner of game on it, both of the fur and feather. In short, I cannot easily conceive that there can be a more agreeable spot in the universe. But it was essentially necessary to Bombay, which, with its number of inhabitants, cannot well subsist without its supplies of all manner of provisions.

Nothing could be harder than to disjoin it from the regality of Bombay, to which it stood formally annexed, and was consequently comprehended in the treaty of cession. In lieu of accomplishing which, in breach of all the rules of good faith,



faith, they put us off with a place that had no merit in it, but the bare harbor, and its being the nominal seat of government; which however, under the Portuguese, could raise it to no consideration beyond that of a poor fishing-place. And even this single island of Bombay, thus amputated of its vital member, they did not yield up, not till after they had obliged the English commander, sent out by the king with forces to take possession of it, to winter on a small wretched island down the coast, called Anjadiva, where he lost the best part of his men through sickness, want of provisions, and inconvenience of lodgment. At length however the English, wearied out with a fruitless insistence, were weak enough to compound for a part, since the whole of their due was thus perfidiously withheld from them; and being admitted to the possession of Bombay, that too was clogged with the restrictions relating to private property, which I have before-mentioned, and which might have been thought no more than reasonable, if the other part of the dominion annexed to it had been thrown in.

THUS this part of the dower of queen Catharine of Portugal, to whom her barrenness can never be mentioned as a reproach, but only as a misfortune both to her and the nation, was almost shrunk to nothing; for the improvement of the English afterwards cannot be taken into the reckoning. Every one knows what was the fate of Tangiers on the coast of Barbary, soon after demolished and given up, on account of the expence of it not answering the ends of keeping it, for which reason only, the Portuguese were probably induced to part with it to us. Even too the sum collaterally paid for the dower of the queen, was by that good-natured king employed in an armament appropriated to the protection and defence of Portugal

itself, against the designs of the Spaniards upon it, who were at that time looked upon in no other light than a revolted province. But there was still a worse consequence attended that inauspicious alliance, which has not been at least generally remarked, and that is, that we undoubtedly lost the trade of Japan by it; and this will not appear a forced or far-fetched inference, to those who shall combine with it, the circumstance of the Portuguese being about that time expelled Japan, with all the detestation and resentment of which that nation was capable, and for which it was so justifiable, after their priests being the cause of the massacre of above forty thousand revolted Japanese, besides numbers executed with tortures, in cold blood, to whom the church of Rome has given the appellation of martyrs; though nothing is more certain, that this extermination of the Christians took place purely upon a political, and by no means a religious account, which was only the necessary motive. Whilst the Portuguese or Romish priests contented themselves with preaching the tenets of their religion, however opposite they were, or repugnant to the established one of the country; they had all the liberty, nay all the encouragement imaginable. But when that nation, always jealous of foreigners, and now wise in time, discovered that under the pretext of propagating their doctrine, they formed parties in the state, and even intermeddled with the succession which they caballed to make it fall on one of their favorers; when the Japanese, I say, were informed, by the indiscreet confession of one of the Spanish commanders (for Portugal was then annexed to Spain) that the way his master had made use of to subdue many nations, was to send missionaries before, whose business it was to form a sufficient party among their converts, to join with such forces as should be sent to subdue the

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the rest; no wonder that thus forewarned as they were, that fierce, suspicious people took the alarm, and were determined to get rid at any rate of such dangerous innovators, and proceeded to the extremities they did, on finding that nothing less than such extremities were necessary. But even then the English were not involved in that proscription and expulsion. They remained upon toleration, and at least upon as good a footing as the Dutch themselves. But these last, in pursuit of their scheme of engrossing this trade, made no scruple of availing themselves of so favorable a conjuncture, as that of our alliance by marriage with the king of Portugal, whom the Japanese considered with reason as their bitterest and perpetual enemy. They insinuated then to the emperor the danger to him from this connection, and gave such plausible colors to it, and drew such probable inferences from it, that alarmed his jealousy; upon which he lumped conclusions against us, and forbade the return of any of our ships there, on pain of death, a prohibition which has not been repealed to this day.

ALL these considerations on which I have the more insisted, as they set the injustice done us in the detention of the island of Salsett in the stronger light, evince the truth of that general remark, of the English being so liable to be overreached in their negotiations, treaties, and compacts.

HOWEVER, it was some alleviation of the damage we sustained, that at least this island, whilst in the hands of the Portuguese, formed a barrier to us, against the invasions of the Morattoes; and whilst we were at peace with that crown, and there appeared no probability but of its continuance, Bombay enjoyed, in some measure, the advantages

of that island's produce, and supplies of provisions, which was also a mutual benefit.

BUT such was the supine indolence, and blindness of the Portuguese government to its own interest, that notwithstanding it was so inflexibly resolute in keeping possession of this island, which was so much our due, from us, I say, who were their friends and allies, it took no sort of care to defend it against their constant and natural enemies the Morattoes; yet nothing was easier than to secure it. Those people had not then the least maritime force, and the island could only be attacked by land at one very narrow pass, fordable at ebb only, which was called the pass of Tannah. Here they had only a miserable redoubt, of no awe, or strength. At length, however, on the appearance of an approaching rupture with the Morattoes, they began to see the expediency of fortifying this important post; and with an absurdity hardly to be believed, they began the construction of a fort, that would have indeed effectually answered the design, if the Morattoes could be supposed such ideots as to suffer them to finish it, when they had not provided even the shadow of a force to cover the building, or repel any interruption of it. Accordingly the Morattoes very quietly let them go on with the fortification, of which themselves were sure of reaping the benefit. For before it was finished, and well-nigh finished it was, they poured their troops into the island, and easily took a fort, the walls of which were in some places open, and the batteries yet unmounted with cannon; after which they had not the least opposition worth mentioning to encounter on the rest of this island: the fort of Bandurah, or rather a fortified house of the jesuits, over-against Mahim, not holding out two days. In short, this great and noble island fell as easy a prey to the Morattoes as themselves could have

have wished : by which means Bombay is now become a frontier open to their incursion, or invasion, upon the least misunderstanding ; which can hardly be avoided, sooner or later, with a people naturally unstable, ignorant of their own interests, or at least, and at best very indifferent to commercial ones, preferring, like most of the Orientals, a momentary present profit, either to a lasting one, or to a much greater one, if at any distance of time. Besides, that without any actual hostility, they may greatly streighten and distress Bombay, both by non-concurrence to its supplies from Salsett, and by interrupting their inland communication with the continent, of which the pass of Tannah is as it were the key. And with respect to these people, it is not now, as formerly, when the Europeans could over-awe them with their artillery, and superior skill of war, a superiority, which though still preserved, is not however equal to the advantage that is on their side of infinitely superior numbers, who are besides no longer to be frightened with the noise of powder, and in the use of which themselves are so greatly improved, as to practice mines, and mortars, in which if they do not as yet equal the Europeans, they have however learnt not to be so much afraid of them, as they at first were, when less acquainted with them. Besides, when the Portuguese first made their settlements in those parts by force, the country-powers were all disunited, and too much at variance among themselves, as well as too constantly kept in check by the Mogul government, to act effectually against those invaders, and oppose their fortifying in their country. But the case is now greatly reversed with them, in all these points.

SALSETT, then subjected to their dominion, reduces the tenure of Bombay itself to very precarious terms, and consequently lessens its value, in

proportion as it lessens its security. Though for the present perhaps, the Gentoo government may be rightly sensible of the advantages it derives from Bombay being in the hands of the English; advantages which it knows itself too well to hope the continuance of them, upon taking it from them; yet such is the natural fickleness of those people, such the spirit of rapine and plunder, and the greediness for immediate profit, constitutional to them, that there is no solid dependence to be placed on their sentiments from one day to another. Nor could all the fortifications of Bombay be supposed capable of holding out against them, if they are once bent on a conquest of it; especially as they look upon it as an annexion to Salsett that is wanting to compleat their conquest of the coast; and besides, as originally belonging to themselves, in quality of the natural lords of the whole country.

THEY can with ease bring from an hundred to two hundred thousand men into the field, most of them horse, inured to the climate, and not unfurnished with fire-arms and artillery. They are at home, and capable of being constantly supplied with fresh recruits. Imagine then if Bombay could expect to hold out long against them, if they should be in earnest to reduce it. How far in the right they were, I will not pretend to say; but when they first heard of the ditch projected round the town-wall, and of its dimensions, they affected at least to hold it very cheap. "Let them alone" (said they) it is not at present worth our while "to break with the English; but whenever that shall be the case, we can fill their ditch up in "one night's time with our slippers." I suppose, that at that time they had no idea of its being a wet one; though that would not much increase the difficulties of the siege.



Thus by the fatal relinquishment of our undoubted right, to a nation that made so ill an use of it, we have in Salfett lost all that could render Bombay essentially valuable. The extent of it, the fertility, the excellence of its waters, every thing in short that could be acquired, should have drawn to us a confluence of the greatest merchants in the neighboring countries, and from Surat especially, who were strongly invited by that mildness and liberty in our government, of which they were, one may say, eye-witnesses. Their sole objection was the smallness of the island, and the indifferent water: whereas in Salfett there was room enough to spread themselves, and the water as before observed excellent. In short, by the addition of Salfett, Bombay might have been easily made as considerable to the English as Batavia to the Dutch, with all their advantages of the neighboring spice-islands; as this harbor is so near Surat, the center of the Indian trade, and every way commodious for commanding the navigation of the Indian seas.

In even the unimproved, and tradeless condition of that island, under the Portuguese government, its revenue was, upon a tolerably just estimate, computed at near five lacks of rupees, or sixty thousand pounds sterling per annum; which, to reckon at the rate Bombay has been with all its disadvantages improved by the English, is not, moderately speaking, the fourth part of what it would have produced to us, to say nothing of the inestimable benefit it would in all probability have been in other respects, and especially that of our then having every thing necessary within ourselves.

For the rest, except the abundant riches of nature, there is nothing remarkable in it but the ruins of a place called Canara, being excavations of rocks, supposed cotemporary with that of Elephantana,

phanta, and are much more numerous, but none of them approaching to it in bigness or workmanship.

THE mountains of it are pretty high, and there is a tradition that they emerged together with the subjacent land out of the sea, by a violent earthquake: to confirm which it is pretended, that there was on the top of the highest hill, not many years ago, found a stone-anchor, such as was antiently used for the vessels of that country; but I cannot say, that I ever heard this story was founded on any good authority.

IF any one however should hereafter attempt a survey or description of Elephanta, it will doubtless be also worth his while to pass over to Salfett, and take a view of Canara, as it may probably furnish him with lights, and conjectures, by the comparison of both.

WHEN this island was lost to the Portuguese, and consequently the jesuits, who were owners of much the largest part of the land, were the greatest sufferers, none were however less pitied even by the Portuguese themselves, especially by those from whose families their arts had extorted their possessions. Their insolence too was as boundless as their avarice, which last has prevented the island from being fortified, whilst it was yet time from their backwardness to contribute their quota of the charges. Thus the more they had to lose, the less were they willing to pay towards securing it.

IT was a melancholy sight on the loss of Salfett, to see the many families forced to seek refuge on Bombay, and among them some Portuguese Hidalgos, or noblemen, reduced of a sudden from very flourishing circumstances to utter beggary. However, they found relief from the usual generosity of the English, notwithstanding the just mat-

ter of complaint they had against their nation, especially on the occasion of that very island, the loss of which through such scandalous negligence brought so great a danger home to their own doors: they found, at Bombay, an hospitable refuge, and all the friendly entertainment and consolation they could wish. One of them was extremely pitied by the English, a gentleman called John de Souza Ferras, who was before that time possessor of a very considerable estate in Salfett, and who had greatly endeared himself to the English by his kind and generous reception of them at his house whenever the occasion offered. He continues I believe to this day, if alive, at Bombay, very much caressed and esteemed by the English gentlemen who were acquainted with him in his prosperity.

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## B O O K III.

### *Of the MORATTOES, and ANGRIA.*

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#### C H A P. I.

*Of the MORATTOES. Derivation of their name. Aborigines GENTOOS: conduct of the MOGULS towards them.—Rise of the SAHA or SOW-RAJAHS.—Disposition of the Morattoes. Proficients in engineering; nature of their troops. Curious in their arms.—Situation of BOMBAY with respect to them. Opinion of the wealth of Bombay. Rapaciousness of the Morattoes: frank acquiescence in their character of perfidiousness: not sanguinary: their usage of captives in war. The fort of RAREE, the residence of the Saha, or MAR-RAJAH: his subjects credulous in astrology. Story of the Mar-Rajah and a reputed sorceress. Description of the Morattoes persons and dress. Their women; and the charge against them of poisoning their husbands groundless.*

**A**FTER speaking of the islands, there remains to add some account of the continent bordering upon Bombay, to which one may say it is, in some measure, contiguous; since by the means of the two forts at Sion, and Tannah, one may pass to it without taking boat: but as all that is necessary to be mentioned of it is included in the description to be here given of the Morattoes, who are lords of all the neighboring parts of it, there is no need of making a separate article of it.

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THE name of Morattoes, or Marattas, is, I have reason to think, a derivation, in their country-language, or by corruption, from Mar-Rajah the chief, or rather, to speak more justly, the king of that powerful tribe, having all the distinction and essence of sovereign power centering in his person. But this name of Morattoes is purely local, and confined to their own country; for all over India, and no farther off than Surat, they are more currently known by the appellation of Ghenims, unless their late spread of conquest should have more generalized it than it was before. As to the word Ghenim, if I am not greatly mistaken, it imports as much as free-booter, and is bestowed not only on the Morattoes, but all those mountaineer tribes of the Gentoos, who commonly make a war rather of pillage or plunder, than a regular one for glory or conquest.

BUT to give some idea of this people at present so powerful, that they have brought near all Indostan under their subjection, and give laws even to the Mogul government, it will be necessary to trace them summarily to their origin.

It is then to be observed, that when the Mongul-Tartars, whence the title of Mogul is apparently derived, founded their sovereignty upon the expulsion of the Pattan-Moors, and in proportion as they extended their conquests over the country, many of the Aborigines Gentoos, who were incapable of making head against them in the field, or plains, and unwilling to submit to the yoke from the sworn enemies to the Gentoo-worship, who, wherever they penetrated by force of arms, made it a point of religion to destroy their temples and idols, with all the fury of bigot-zeal, they retired for shelter to the numerous mountains of Indostan, and there burrowed in inaccessible fastnesses; upon which Aurengzeb gave them the humorous nickname

name of mountain-rats. But then, as these Gentoos were split into various tribes, under chiefs of different families, whose disunion had already facilitated the invasion of the country, first to the Pattans, and then to the Moguls; the dissensions and jealousies still continued in force enough to hinder them from uniting against the common enemy. Of this the Moguls, in the flourishing state of their empire, knew perfectly well how to take the advantage, and put in practice that great state maxim of dividing in order to govern. What then by courting some, by menacing others, and by awing all of them with standing armies, which if they could not penetrate into their strong holds, or absolutely conquer them, could still straiten and distress them, they brought several of their Rajahs under a kind of tributary subjection, and had art and interest enough to oppose them against each other. Some of them even came occasionally to court, and not only paid personal homage to the Mogul, but did military duty and service round the court, while they still reserved their respective dominions in the mountains. While the Moguls continued this practice of sowing dissensions among those warlike tribes, and of employing occasionally and aptly the ways of rigor, or of compliance, to intimidate or soothe powers, which were impenetrable for their armies to destroy, that empire enjoyed a tolerable state of peace and security. But as soon as the government began to relax on that capital point, having fallen into the hands of a succession of indolent princes, engrossed by the pleasures of their seraglio's, and weakened by the contempt into which their negligence plunged them; the Rajahs perceived the change, and lifted their heads upon it. They could easily have recovered the dominion of the whole country out of the Mogul's hands, if they had not still persisted in such  
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their disunion, that they could not agree among themselves who should possess the empire. They had rather see it in its nominal subjection to the Tartar family, than any one of their own nation assume it over the rest; and each minding only to inroach upon it for his own particular benefit, the whole state of Indostan remained and still remains a common prey to their several incursions, and devastations, which is the only point wherein these Rajahs agree.

It was towards the latter end of Aurengzeb's days, that one of those Rajahs, called Sevajee, or rather Sow-rajah, took the advantage of that monarch's declining as well in judgment as in years, set up openly the standard of revolt, and bearded him with the pillage twice repeated of Surat, the capital town of trade of his whole dominions. Nay, so secure was he of his point in it, so assured of the negligence and supineness of the government, that he intimated to the town the day he had prefixed for entering and plundering it, and was as good as his word; not having met with the least opposition, unless in the English and Dutch factories, whose posture of defence saved them from sharing the common fate.

By this exploit, and other successful enterprises on the Mogul dominions, he acquired such strength and reputation, as enabled him to give a certain consistence, and regular form of government to that assemblage of free-booters, which he had collected out of the mountains of Deckan, and whom the temptation of pillage had united under his standard. Master then, by continual encroachments every way round him, of a considerable and populous body of dominion, he assumed the title now continued to his successors of Mar-rajah, or Arch-rajah, and appeared in a condition to give laws to the Mogul empire; at the worst he was assured of  
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there being no human possibility of coming at or driving him out of his inaccessible retreats in the mountains. Yet, it is observable, that all the time he was acting thus in open defiance to the Mogul emperor, he never professedly threw off a nominal submission to his throne. He had even the assurance to style himself his general in Deckan. These measures he doubtless kept out of regard to the jealousy of the other Rajahs, who had not yet so openly renounced their vassalage, and who differed from him however in nothing but their appearances more, while they claimed in fact as absolute an independence.

His successors pursued invariably his system of politics and activity : and as their dominions increased, they set on foot more numerous and more regular armies, under able generals : so that from a set of banditti or free-booters they assumed a more national form, without departing in the least from their original spirit of rapine and plunder. One would otherwise naturally think, that as fast as they formed their state into order and consistence, they would encourage trade, which is every where, by civilized nations, considered as one of its chief supports : but, hitherto at least, they have given no indication of a commercial turn : on the contrary, wherever their arms have penetrated, or their influence extended, they have destroyed all trade and manufactures. On the coast, a little to the southward of Bombay, there existed not long since some very considerable manufactures, which were annihilated by the oppression and harrassments exercised on the artizans, insomuch that there is not the footstep of them left. At present they seem to have placed their whole dependence on the sword : nor do they want for great caution, conduct, and policy in the extension of their dominions. They seem in no hurry for pushing their conquest,

conquest, but patiently wait for their best time and opportunity : and even where they meet with a repulse, they yield with great suppleness to the force of the conjecture ; they retreat with as good a grace as if they had succeeded, and prepare their measures coolly to return afresh as opportunity may favor them.

THEY have encouraged deserters from the European nations, from whom they learnt the art of engineering, as far as the skill or knowledge of those deserters reached ; the Indians in general being ready imitators to a certain point, or standard, at which they commonly stop, not being curious of perfection in any thing. It has however been observed, that though they gave such deserters a pretty high pay, compared to the small one with which they satisfy their own natives, should they save or hoard up any sum, which by the by they rarely do, they do not suffer them to quit the country, unless at the hazard of a dangerous escape, or unless they purchase their freedom with a delivery of all they are worth. But, in truth, and consistently enough with such treatment, no Europeans take service among them, except such as are of desperate fortunes, or have committed crimes that obliged them to seek refuge there. When such Europeans have exhausted their strength, and power of service, they are suffered to languish in misery and poverty, neglected and despised by those their employers.

By this means however the Morattoes have been rendered capable of forming regular sieges, with which they were before utterly unacquainted. Thus, when they took Bassaim from the Portuguese, a place strongly fortified, at least supposed so against any attempts of theirs, which is situate on the coast on the continent a few miles to the northward of Bombay, they erected regular batteries,

teries, threw in bomb-shells, and proceeded by sap and mine, until the town saw itself forced to surrender.

YET with all this, their troops \* are fitter for a war of incursion, than for regular campaigns. They are chiefly composed of land-tillers, called Corumbees, with whom their seed-time and harvest are essential points to be consulted, and adjusted to their expeditions; for their manner of government admitting no importations, or material supplies from without, they would run the hazard of a famine on any deficiency of cultivation. Thus they are equally bred to agriculture and arms, and perhaps are not the worse soldiers for this alteration. Their pay is extremely small, and that generally not furnished in money, but in rice, tobacco, salt, pieces of apparel, and other necessities of life, which are there at a cheap rate. And indeed otherwise their bringing such numerous armies into the field could not be accounted for, considering their exclusion of trade.

THEIR horses, on which they chiefly rely, are a small but hardy breed, like that of the mountains of Scotland, inured to fatigue, and of secure footing for the rugged roads among the hills, and a very small matter of forage serves them.

FOR arms, a great many of them have muskets, but generally indifferent ones, and most of them match-locks. These they use chiefly in bush-fighting, where when they have made a discharge, they retreat in a hurry to their main body: but their chief dependence is on their swords and targets. Their swords are, generally speaking, of an admirable temper, and they are well trained up to the exercise of them; so that on all occasions in

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\* See vol. II. introduction, p. xi.

battle, they quit their musket, and betake themselves to them with great success. They are so curious in the blades, that they hold the European broad swords in great contempt, especially the common-sale ones, that are sent out by our ships. When the Derby, captain Ansell, was so scandalously taken by a few of Angria's grabs, whose marines are exactly the same as the Morattoes, and often some of their subjects; there fell into Angria's hands, among a great quantity of other valuable military stores, some chests of sword blades, on examining of which Angria said, that the English swords were only fit to cut butter with.

As to their targets, they are exactly round, convexing almost to a point on the out-side, light, and covered with so smooth and hard a varnish or lacquer, that if tolerably good, they will easily turn a pistol-ball, and at some little distance a musket one.

THEY also have among them excellent slingers, and archers; but of these they make lately less account since the introduction of fire-arms; though, considering their imperfection in the management of these last, it is a query whether they are much gainers by the change.

As to the rest of their dress, nothing can be imagined meaner. A roll of coarse muslin round their heads, to which they give the name of pucker, or turbant, or perhaps a bit of cloth, or striped callico, or cuttance-cap; a lungée or clout, barely to cover their nakedness, and a pamree or loose mantle to throw over their shoulders, or to lye on upon the ground, composes the whole of their wardrobe. This however is only to be understood of their common men, though the officers do not much out-figure them: so that nothing can present a more despicable appearance than these troops, together with their little ill-favored horses,

the furniture of which is in a stile answerable to the rest.

THEN their diet is extremely portable ; they require no great magazines of provisions, no ovens, or embarrassment of waggons. A little rice, and a leathern flask for water, which they call a Metarah, are all that is requisite, so that every soldier may easily carry his own allowance : nor do the officers fare more sumptuously, nothing being so plain as their food, especially during their expeditions, which they conduct with amazing rapidity, and not too without great stratagem and cunning.

AGAINST such numbers, with the advantage of being in their own country, it is not very probable, that any force we could afford from Europe should materially or ultimately prevail. Otherwise nothing could be more for the English interest, than endeavoring to reconquer the island of Salsett from them, for reasons too obvious to need a recapitulation here : but it is now only mentioned to explode a proposal, I am told was once made of such an attempt. The situation of Bombay is however now rendered so precarious, that there is no such thing as either quarrelling with the Morattoes to advantage, or trusting to them with safety, nor indeed seeing any end of this dilemma.

If they were a people capable of hearing reason on their true permanent interests, in contradistinction to their momentary ones, they might easily see that Bombay, in the hands of the English, is a greater advantage to them, than if it was in their own ; as it is a great inlet of trade into all their dominions that lye round it, by means of the several creeks and rivers that communicate with that harbor, a trade which themselves for many reasons could not expect to invite or bring into them. They are also well assured, that the  
English



English court no settlements but on account of their commerce, always beneficial to the countries round about, and never dangerous to them, from its not being attended with the spirit of conquest, even their forts being rather mere warehouses than curbs upon the natives. These are arguments too, of the force of which they will sometimes own themselves convinced, and perhaps really are so at the time, but then there is no dependence on their continuance in that mind. A change of their ministers, a fancy that shall take them in the head, that Bombay would afford a good present pillage, or a scheme of humoring their troops, who are never better pleased than with a promise of plunder; any of these, or the like motives, are sufficient to make them break of a sudden through all their resolutions, and ties of a greater interest; and what is more, though known to themselves to be so.

THE principal men among them, though probably better informed themselves, cannot root out of the minds of the bulk of that people in general, a strong notion, that Bombay incloses great riches, an idea which they do not fail of annexing to trade, and which, such is their constitutional indisposition towards it, they are not yet tempted to introduce, or improve in their own dominions. This false opinion however they have of the advantage accruing to the company from the possession of Bombay, though it is far from paying its own charges, and is only kept for the convenience of its other settlements and factories, has such an influence, that they think no demands too exorbitant for purchasing their toleration and tranquility.

As an instance of this way of thinking in those people, may be produced the terms on which Samboo or Sambajee Angria insisted, when certain overtures of peace were set on foot between him and the government of Bombay. After some pre-

face on the prodigious advantages of the English trade on that coast, which must in course enable them to afford what he demanded, he confined himself however to no larger a sum than twelve lacks of rupees, or about one hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum, which he required in consideration of his desistance from his hostilities, and non-interruption of our navigation. I do not know that he ever sunk his demand afterwards; but only that the English government treated his proposal with the contempt it deserved, and made a jest of it. Nor was this indeed worth mentioning, but to shew the popular opinion in those parts of the wealth of the English, which inspires the country-government less with respect, than with a desire of plundering them.

NOR can this unfavorable disposition of the Morattoes towards foreign merchants be much wondered at, when it is equally and more so towards those of their own country. For the few that are induced to live under their government, for the sake of the gain to be made on the traffic of the absolutely necessaries of life, are obliged to conceal, as they would murder, their being in good circumstances. Towards which they affect all the appearances of poverty, in their houses, dress, and all externals, to avoid being pointed out as a prey to their rapacious government, which is sure ultimately not to spare any rich subjects, though they will sometimes leave them quietly for a long time to gather wealth, which they look on as so much in bank for themselves, whenever they please to call it in: and in this point they make no distinction of any rank or condition, but that of the great military officers, whose property is more respected for obvious reasons of state. They are their instruments of oppression, whom it is not so safe to disoblige or discourage. But, though they are Gen-  
toos,

toos, whom one would in course think awed by their priests or bramins, they spare them no more than the rest, when they are reputed rich, and will, without standing upon any ceremony with them, use menaces, and even tortures, to squeeze money out of them. This shews they are either not overloaded with religious scruples, or that they look on the temporalities of their priests, as making no part of the sacredness of the function, and that they are not disqualified for officiating their spiritual duties by their want of worldly wealth.

As this rapaciousness is chiefly the characteristic of the Gentoo government, whereas that of the Moors or Moguls is much more temperate and just, it is often the reason why those of their subjects, who can escape the dangerous repute of being rich, bury their wealth in secret places, unknown often to their nearest relations, and even to their heirs, when by chance they died suddenly, or at a distance from their homes. Besides, such is their tenaciousness of these treasures, that when some, in consequence of their falling under the suspicion of wealth, have been exposed to violent tortures, they have had the constancy to hold out, and keep the secret of their hoards, though in all other points they were known to be the arrantest cowards. In the mean time, by unexaggerated accounts, it is amazing to reflect what immense treasures have been buried and lost on solely this principle of preservation; for it is an utter fable, that they are looked upon as useful to them in the other life. A proof of which is, that the same sort of people are never known to bury their treasures under a free government, where they are not afraid of being pillaged, and where they can safely leave them to their heirs. I have heard it averred, that the sums of money thus interred in the course of past ages, at least equal those in present circula-

tion all over Indostan. Perhaps this estimate is hyperbolical, though there are not wanting good reasons to countenance it.

So much is certain, that the Gentoo merchants, especially the Banyans, and even the Bramins or Gentoo-priests, prefer living under a Moorish government, or indeed any government to that of the Gentoos; being at least sure that they can no where meet with less safety, or more oppressive exactions. Surat is one instance of this, which is crowded with Gentoo merchants, and mechanics of all sorts; where, though they are some times exposed to the avarice and vexations of bad governors, they are only transient and partial storms: whereas the Gentoo government is one continued and universal system of violence and injustice.

SUCH are the people now the immediate neighbors of Bombay, in whose character nevertheless there is something paradoxical. For though too perfidious to be ever safely trusted, at least they do not, like a polite neighboring nation in Europe, affect a parade of sincerity or good faith. They do not desire to be taken to be more honest than they are, and would be the first to laugh at those who should repose any confidence in them. They make no professions of friendship beyond words of common course; or set formularies of compliments, which they do not expect should be taken for more than they are worth. They never set forth any pompous manifests, decked with the false colors of eloquence, of their good intentions to the peace of mankind, at the instant that they are taking all the measures in their power to disturb it. They consider themselves always in a state of war, open or understood, with those powers whose dominions they covet; and consequently think, that all feints, stratagems or advantages are fair, as from enemy to enemy.

TREACHEROUS as they constitutionally are, they yet are not accusable of that common attendant on treachery, cruelty. They are not accounted sanguinary. They do not usually rob and murder, unless where this last is absolutely necessary to the first, and then doubtless they do not stick at it. What prisoners they make in war they seldom detain, but get rid of them as soon as possible, to save the charges and trouble of keeping them; unless where any ransom is in view, and then they will not scruple using the harshest means towards extorting what they expect from them. Slaves they rarely make, unless they should have a view of a market for them; for they would make money of any thing: but though slaves are often bought in India, there is no settled vend for such as are taken in war. It is chiefly in times of famine that parents are sometimes driven to dispose of their children to the Europeans, or Moors, for I never could learn that the Gentoos dealt in them: neither can the Gentoos keep a slave under their roof of any religion but their own, on account of the profanation their law attributes to it. Besides, service is so extremely cheap among those people, that there are always numbers of domestics to be found, ready to serve for bare victuals and raiment.

SLAVERY being out of the question in the incursions of those people, whose sole object is present plunder, they are the less a terror to the neighboring countries, and especially to the poor land-tillers and peasants, who generally keep nothing in their huts worth carrying away, and thus are abundantly defended from losses by having nothing to lose.

EVEN in their plundering of towns, unless actuated by some extraordinary motive of resentment, they observe a certain moderation. Thus, for ex-



ample, when they pillaged Surat, besides their respecting the lives of the unresisting inhabitants, and the saving the houses from fire, they were far from rigorously ransacking it; it being a maxim with them (to use their own phrase) not to pluck up a beard by the roots, but to shave it, so that it may grow again, to serve another opportunity.

UPON the whole, they may be pronounced a sort of a civilized nation of banditti, who, it is not impossible, though at present it does not seem very probable, may in process of time be brought to adopt more social maxims of government, and rise into dignity and rank with the other lawful or regular powers.

THE Mar-rajah, the sovereign of these people, generally keeps his court, or more properly speaking, considering their purely military constitution, his head quarters, at the fort of Raree, in the mountains of Deckan; and if reports do not bely it, this must be the most compleatly impregnable place in the universe. It is represented as a fortified mound of rocks, extremely high, and so steep, as but by one narrow pathway, to be accessible to human footing; with this advantage, that the enclosure of it is large enough, independent of the stores accumulated there, to grow grain sufficient for the maintenance of its garrison, which were it but a handful of men, could with pleasure defend it against the greatest armies that could be brought to take it; not to mention that the passes and defiles leading to it among the mountains, are so rugged and narrow, that the Morattoes must be all asleep, to suffer any armies to penetrate to that fortress.

HERE the Mar-rajah principally resides, with a kind of military court, composed of his generals and officers, and keeps all the state of a sovereign prince,



prince, with all the insignia of royalty about him; one of which, peculiar to the Rajah's of Indostan, is their long vest, which only differs from that of other common ones, in the make towards the bottom, being sloped into a peak downwards on each side.

AT this court, both the sovereign and the courtiers are so entirely engrossed with their attention to military operations, that having that super-addition to the natural indolence of the orientalists in general with respect to arts and sciences, they appear entirely incurious of the European manufactures, or rarities, whether of nature or art. In vain then would be shewn to them any of those exquisite pieces of workmanship, which are produced by our artists. They would indeed, out of civility, praise them with an air of careless indifference, and their natural covetousness would perhaps not suffer them to be sorry for being presented with them; but they would much rather receive the equivalent in sheer money, diamonds, or precious stones, of which the currency is to the full as regularly settled. This tastelessness too is so thoroughly rooted in them, that though no people are fonder of decking out their women with rich jewels, yet they would prefer those of their own workmen's comparative coarse and clumsy setting, to those of a Robertson or a Lacam, and that not from any laudable partiality towards their own country-men, but purely from the want of a relish for perfection, which makes them contented with what they have a habit of daily seeing. Thus a watch of the most beautiful and nicest make, is only valuable to them according to the metal it contains; and a painting of Raphael's or Titian's would move them no more than it would a horse.

IN the profound ignorance in which they are bred, and in which their parts that are naturally extremely

extremely lively remain immerfed, or receive at the hands of tradition a wrong direction, it is not furprizing, that they fhould be liable to take ftrong impreffions of fuch grofs errors and prejudices, as thofe in favor of judicial aftrology, of which it is but fo lately that the politest courts in Europe have fhaken off the yoke. Thefe people in general are fcrupuloufly addicted to believe in that vain fcience, and religiously obferve the good or bad days, indicated to them by their aftrologers, who are chiefly Bramins, and whom they confult on all occafions; but this folly is no more than they have in common with the reft of the Orientalifts. Their credulity extends yet farther, to the opinion they have of wizards, and forcereffes, of whom they tell many ftories that they firmly believe. One of them, which I had from a Gentoo who came from that country, and very gravely affured me of the truth of it, I take leave to relate, not moft certainly as either believing or expecting it to be believed, but purely as a fpecimen of the genius of invention of thofe people, with refpect to any thing that favors their credulity.

THE prefent Mar-rajah being informed of the great reputation of a certain woman in his dominions for forcery, and fortune-telling, fent for her to court, with an intention to put her to death, on what particular provocation was not faid, but firft had the curiofity to fee her. The woman accordingly appeared before him: fhe was then about forty, very corpulent, and not of an ill prefence. He asked her fternly, if fhe knew why he had fent for her? "Yes, answered fhe (with the utmoft intrepidity and unconcern) you have fent for me to take away my life; but before you proceed to that, I hope you will, for your own fake, permit me to give you a falutary warning." Curiofity, or perhaps the apprehenfion natural to that prejudice

prejudice which admits of the possibility of witchcraft, moving the Rajah's assent to it, she ordered two fowls to be produced, the one a cock, the other a hen. The cock was set down on the ground, full of life and spirits; then taking the hen, she desired the Rajah to mark the consequence. At these words she wrung the neck of the hen off, when at the same time the cock, though untouched by any one, imitating all the convulsions and agonies of its death, accompanied the hen in it. "This, Sir, (said she to the Rajah determinately) "remember to be a type of your fate and mine." The Rajah struck with this, not only desisted from his intention, but intreated her to be near his person, settled a considerable pension on her, ordered her a palankin and attendance, and in short treated her thence-forwards like a person, with whose life his own was wound up.

As to the persons of the Morattoes, they are generally a clean-limbed, strait people, it being very rare to see any deformed persons among them. Some of them are muscular large-bodied men; but their vegetable diet, and their not being trained up to a proper exercise of their bodily strength, makes them not so robust; which last I the rather believe, because it is certain, that even in this hot climate, there are often to be found, as at Surat, porters who will carry a weight equal to what any European can; however, it is certain, that the Morattoes are in battle easily over-borne, not only by the Europeans, but by the Mogul's troops, with neither of whom they have any chance, without a great superiority of numbers, or from the slight and dexterity with which they handle their swords.

THEIR complexions are of all shades, from the deep-black to the light-brown; but it is observed, they are fairer in proportion of their distance from the sea-side, and of their birth among the moun-  
tains

tains the farthest remote from it. Their features are generally regular, and even delicate. Besides shaving their heads, of which they religiously preserve in the middle of it a lock at full length, so as to tie up, and hang down behind, the Morattoes are distinguished from the Moors, by two favorite curls they wear on each side just above the ear, which appearing from under their turbants, gives them a kind of effeminate look.

THEIR women are generally very handsome, whilst the bloom of youth continues; but that soon fading, there are few who preserve the charms of their shape and skin till thirty, at which they are commonly past child-bearing. They are reckoned very faithful and affectionate to their husbands, who do not appear to be infected with the oriental taint of jealousy. In this country, however, the barbarous custom still continues, as indeed none are so tenacious of old customs as the Gentoos, of women burning, or being buried (for there is one tribe that buries their dead) with their husbands: what is more, the higher the rank of the husband is, the greater is the incumbence on the wife, to follow him in this manner; and the Rajahs especially have several of their wives burned with them: the ceremony of which, being so amply described in many authors, acquits me of entering into any further account of it here; besides that, I never was myself an eye-witness to it. Yet I believe, that the story of this custom, attributed to the Bramins devising it, to put a stop to the frequency of the womens poisoning their husbands on every slight quarrel, to be an over-refinement of conjecture, as false as it is injurious to the women of this country; no such practice being either attested by creditable tradition, or warranted by the behavior of the other Indian women not subjected to this custom, and who are generally of a mould of mind  
much

much too soft and tender to incur even the suspicion of such a detestable barbarity. I rather attribute it to the strength of passion, always the greatest in the weakest minds, from the greater power of all impressions on them, and of which the Bramins knew how to take the advantage, not only for the sake of paying their court to the leading men of the country, whose vanity, and that sort of jealousy founded upon it, were thus flattered at the expence of a sex, in those parts perfectly enslaved to them, and never enough considered by them; but also for the sake of the dreadful power of religious persuasion it armed them with, to establish a ceremony that is never but attended with signal emolument to themselves, and that inspires an awe or veneration for them the conductors of it.

THE Morattoes, as Gentoos, agree in this, as they do in most other points in religion and manners, with the rest of the Gentoo nations, of which in its place will be given a more particular account. In the mean time, from what has been said, the situation specifically of Bombay with respect to these people, and to what is to be hoped or feared from them, may not be insufficiently collected.

## C H A P. II.

### *Of ANGRIA, and his SUCCESSORS.*

CONAGEE ANGRIA, the father of the present Angrias, having made so remarkable a figure in the history of those parts, and especially relatively to the English interest in them, for having been the first founder of a very considerable piratical state; and so many fabulous stories having been imposed on the public concerning his birth,  
first

first rise, and progress, I shall in my second volume give the best and most authentic account I could obtain concerning him, and his dominions\*. However, I shall here observe, that Angria, who had found means to dispossess other petty chiefs of their forts, and lands, through the acquiescence of the Morattoes, and his own enterprizing genius; having collaterally acquired vessels of greater force, ventured at length to break with our flag, and took some English vessels trading upon that coast, plundered the cargoes, and made the men prisoners, subject to a ransom.

THIS naturally alarmed the government of Bombay, which accordingly expostulated with him on his piratical procedure; to which he made no further answer, than that disclaiming the title of pirate, he assumed that of admiral to the Mar-rajah, to whom he insisted that the sovereignty of those seas belonged, and that he was determined to maintain it, against all such as should refuse to acknowledge, or not take his passes. And as one may well imagine these were terms to which the English government could not stoop, he went on with his usual depredations.

THIS obliged the East-India company to keep a constant marine on foot to hold him in check, and to protect the trade and navigation of those seas, an incumbrance which greatly inflamed the charges of that presidency. Angria however made a shift to support himself by cruising indistinctly on all nations, and by picking up such stragglers as ventured on the coast without convoy. Yet he took care never to venture below mount Dilly, or far to the northward, for fear of being intercepted and cut off his port by the English force that was employed

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\* See vol. II. p. 211—228.



to watch his motions: about 1731 he died, not in a very advanced age, being about sixty.

He was a well-set corpulent man, rather blacker than commonly the Deckaners are; full faced, with a sparkling eye, and stern countenance. He was very severe in his commands, and exact in punishing; otherwise liberal to his officers and soldiers, with whom he affected a sort of military frankness, not to say familiarity. He was too, like the Morattoes, very careless of keeping faith, and excused the not making any peace with him, on which it was foreknown that no reliance could be had.

AFTER his death, the succession devolved on his son, Sambagee Angria, who retained force enough to do the English a great deal of mischief, and accordingly took their trading ships, both of the country, and from Europe, and even occasionally the armed vessels, when he could surprize and overpower them. He died in 1745, and was succeeded by his son Tulagree, who was dispossessed by the English in 1756, as will be particularly related in my second volume.

It has been however proposed as a doubt, whether the English have acted for their interest, in their joining to ruin an enemy, it is true, but an enemy, in whose place another power far superior in strength is substituted, and whom there is no more safety in trusting than Angria himself.

THIS argument would be very just, if the Morattoes were not already, by their neighborhood to Bombay, in condition to do us so much mischief by land, that the consideration of what they can ever do against us by sea is absorbed in it. It may not then be unreasonable to think, that it is better to have this nation only to deal with, on the best terms of friendship that can be procured, than to continue in a constant state of hostility with a petty pirate, from whom no peace could ever be hoped,  
and

and who was unsuppreffible, without a greater land force than we could conveniently bring againſt him; ſince even granted, that the Morattoes could raiſe a marine ſuperior to that of Angria, a breach with them by ſea could not be more fatal than the one at land, which would of courſe be implied in it. For certainly Bombay, according to all human appearance, ceases to be tenable, that inſtant the Morattoes determinately reſolve the conqueſt of it; which will not appear a hazarded conjecture to thoſe, who know the extent of the Morattoes power, eſpecially now their arms are at liberty, and free from any awe of the Mogul's. But, beſides, even allowing that the fortifications of Bombay were able to hold out againſt ſuch forces as they could eaſily bring againſt them, if they convert but their deſign into a ſcheme of blocking up the paſſes, of harraſſing the iſland with incurſions, and ſtraightening it for proviſions, they can only with a little more time, but with leſs danger and no inconvenience to themſelves who are at home, render the tenure of it impracticable, or at leaſt uſeleſs to us. If they can poſſibly however be brought to know their own intereſt; or knowing it, to adhere to it, this can never be the caſe.

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## B O O K IV.

### *Of the MOGUL government.*

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#### C H A P. I.

*Of SURAT : its situation : disturbances there. History of MAHMUD ALLY. Character of the BAN-  
NYANS. Style of the MOGUL governors. Ship-  
building : navigation : buildings and streets of Su-  
rat : provisions : odd names given to spirituous li-  
quors. Account of the practice of champing : ba-  
tling : jugglers : toleration of religions : manu-  
factures : commodious method of sale. Singular  
method of securing the caravans. Intercourse be-  
tween Surat and BOMBAY by land. Opium : story  
of its paradoxical operation : PATNA sends the best  
to market : story of an ENGLISH gentleman dying  
of having sucked a poppy. Of the use of bang.—  
Of the PARSEES.—Of the MOGUL government,  
and its declension. Religion of TARTARY is deism.  
Of seraglios, and the MOORS taste of beauty.  
Buildings and gardens of the Moguls. Dancing-  
girls. Dress of the Moors : manners : slaves :  
diet : equipage and carriages. Luxury of the Orien-  
talists.*

**S**URAT has hitherto been so closely connect-  
ed with our government at Bombay, that  
some account of it falls naturally within my plan,  
especially as it serves for introduction to an at-  
tempt of some definition of the Mogul govern-  
ment, in which the English are so much con-

cerned, and which for many years past has been a kind of political paradox.

SURAT is situate on the continent a little to the northward of Bombay, about sixteen miles up the river Tappee, on the right-hand side as you go up. The river itself is nothing remarkable; but the city on the banks of it is perhaps one of the greatest instances in the known world, of the power of trade to bring in so little a time wealth, arts and population, to any spot where it can be brought to settle.

It is not later than the middle of the last century, that this place was the repair of a few merchants, who under the shelter of an old insignificant castle, formed up a town, which in the process of a few years, became one of the most considerable in the world, not only for trade but size, being almost as large, and as populous as London within the walls, and contains many good houses, according to the Indian architecture. A wall was soon, after its taking the form of a town, built round it, to defend it from the insults of the Morattoes, who had twice pillaged it; but a wall that could only be meant of use against the sudden incursion of such free-booters, and by no means capable of standing any thing like a regular siege. The castle too, which is by the river-side, and which you pass in your way up to the city, appears a strange huddle of building, fortified with cannon mounted here and there without order and meaning, and without an attempt at any thing like military architecture.

IN this city, before the East India company became by the royal grant invested with the possession of Bombay, was the presidency of their affairs on that coast: for which purpose they had a factory established there with several great privileges allowed them by the Mogul government; and even  
after

P L A N  
of  
SURAT CASTLE

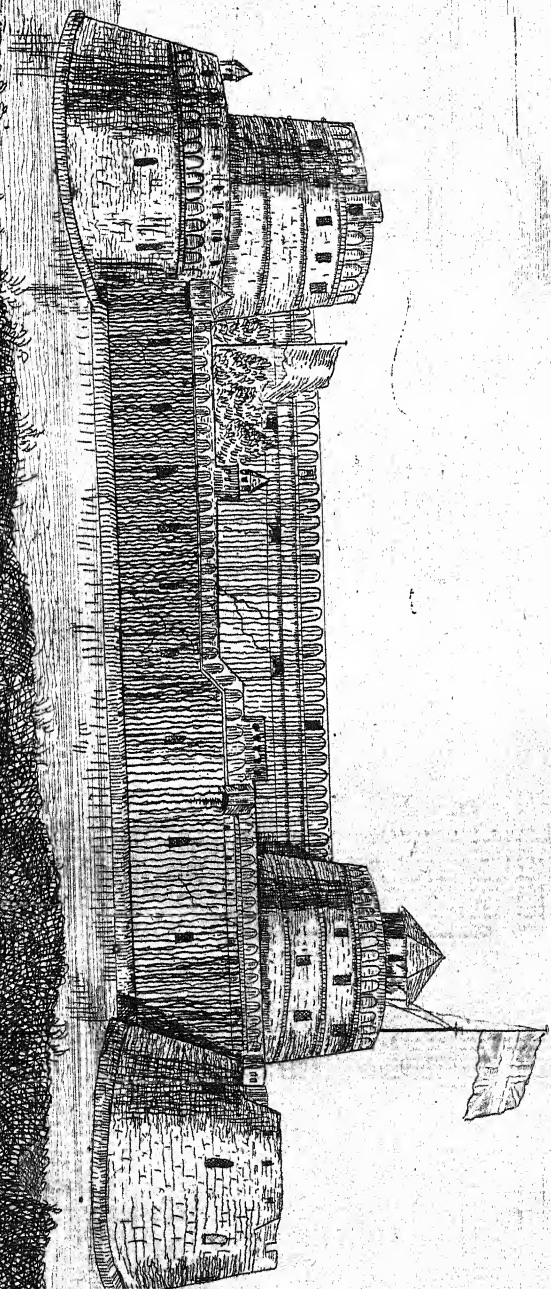
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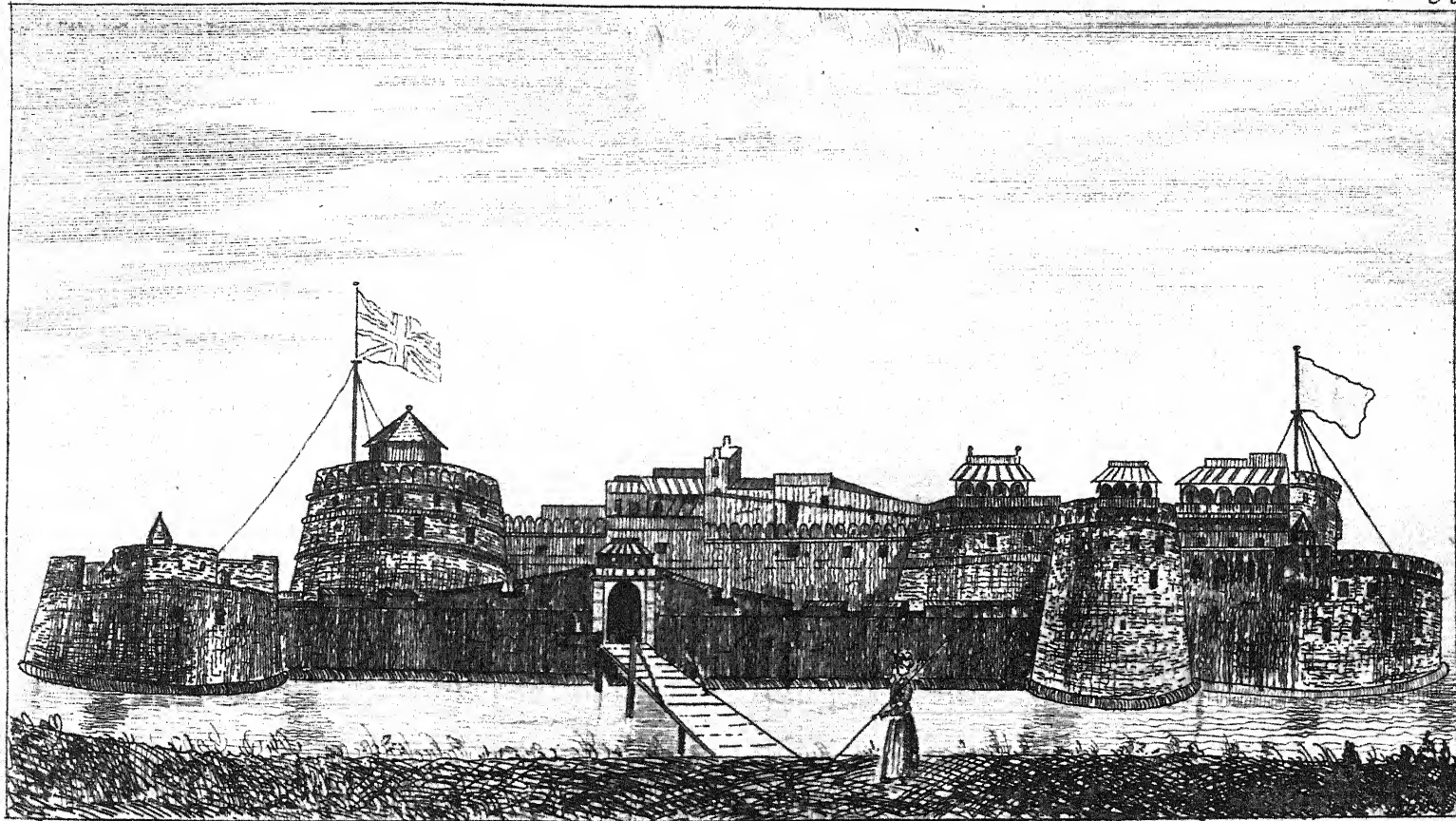
- A. *Royal Tower.*  
B. *Mogul Tower.*  
C. *Sally Port Tower.*  
D. *Water Tower.*  
E. *Barrack Guard & Parade.*  
F. *Gateway.*  
G. *Day Guard Room.*  
H. *Sally Port.*  
I. *Principal Well.*  
K. *Counterscarp where mended.*





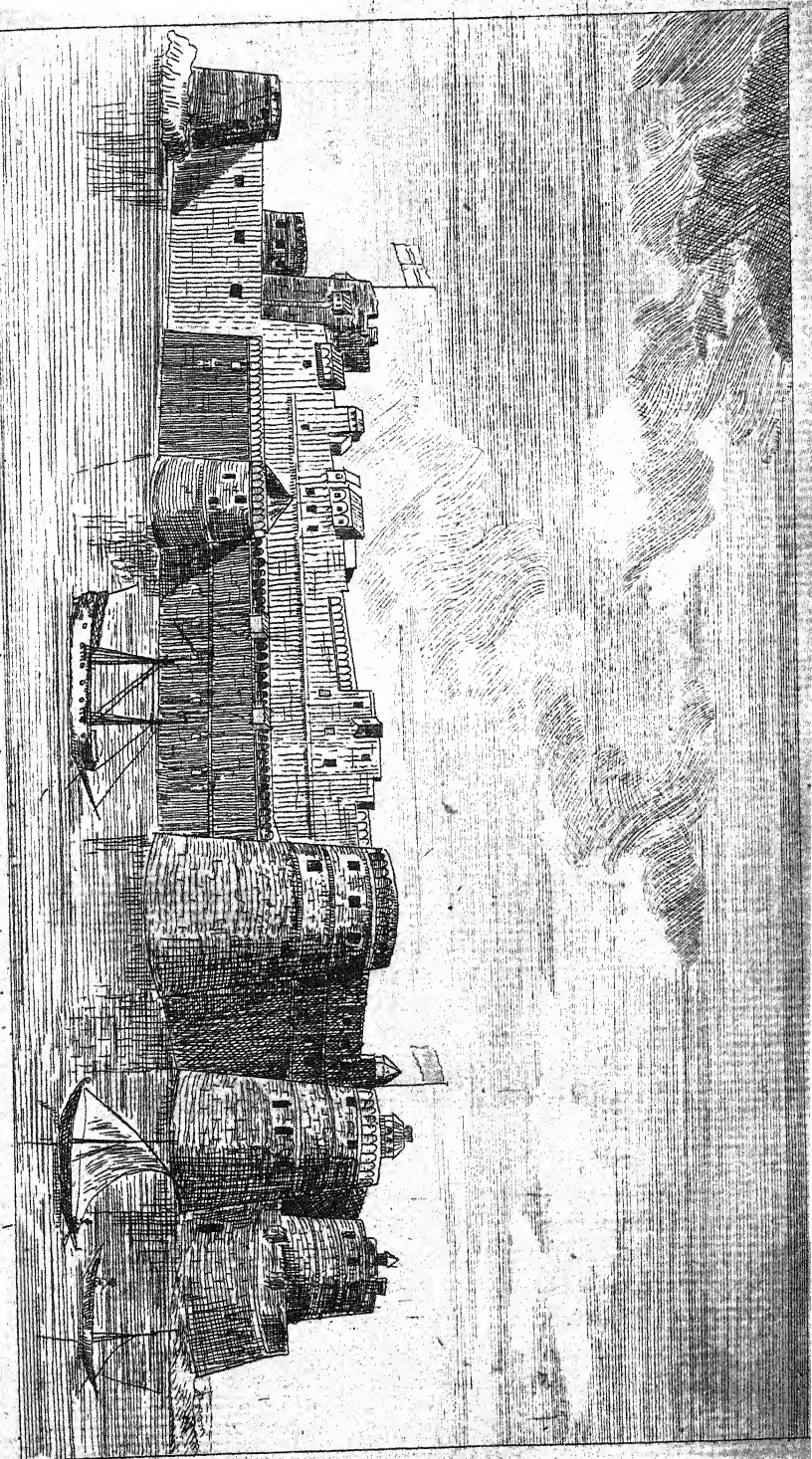
*The South View of Surat Castle.*

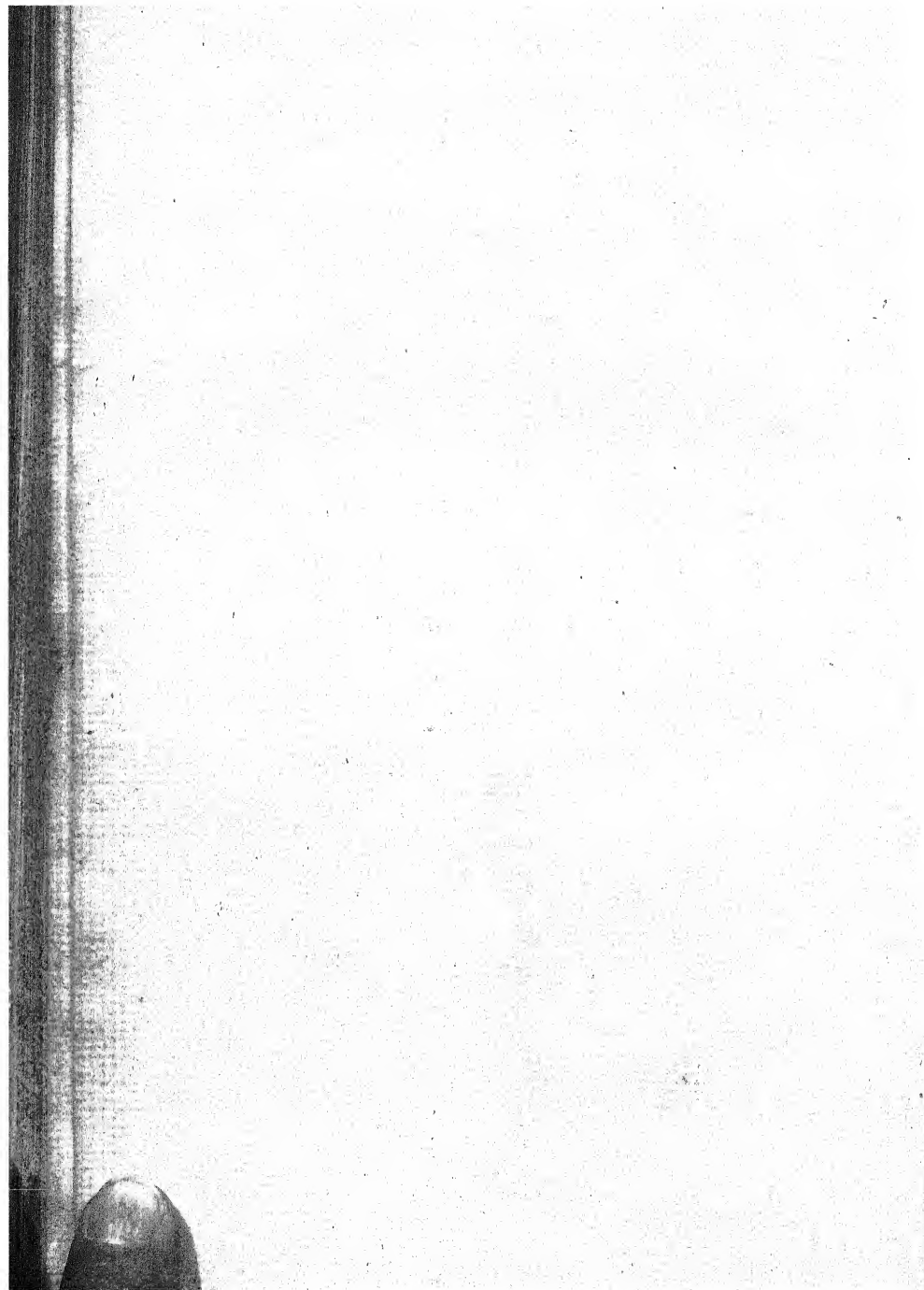




*The East View of Surat Castle*

271 11/2 View of Santa Catalina





after the seat of the presidency was transferred to Bombay, they continued a factory here, at one of the best houses in the city; which yet not being spacious enough to contain their effects, they hired another house at some distance from it, and nearer the water-side, which was called the new factory.

In the mean time this city flourished, and grew the center, and indeed the only staple of India; it being much more frequented for the sake of the vent goods of all sorts met with there, from whence they were distributed particularly to the inland provinces, than for either the natural productions, and manufactures of the country, though they also made a considerable part of its commerce. In short, there was hardly any article of merchandize that can be named, but what was to be found at all times here, almost as readily as in London itself. The company carries on annually a large investment of piece-goods, especially of the coarse ones Byrampauts, Chelloes, and others for the Guinea market; but the English interest and influence seem of late years to have greatly declined, amidst the confusion and embroils of the country, a circumstance every where fatal to trade, and to that security and credit which are the life of it.

WHILE the Mogul government was in vigor, there was such a shew of justice, as induced the merchants of all religions and denominations to take shelter under it. The Gentoos especially resorted to it, and took up their abode there, not only on the account of trade, but for preferring a Moorish form of government to the living under Gentoos, who had none at all. And it must be owned, great care was taken that no very flagrant acts of oppression should be committed; so that in what sometimes happened, at least appearances were kept, and were mostly owing to the mer-



chants themselves, who on personal pique, or jealousy of trade, would find means to set the government upon one another's backs, which was not averse to interfere in their quarrels, being sure to be the only gainer by them.

As an instance of this, it may not be improper to relate the fate of Mahmud Ally, the grandson of that great and truly royal merchant Abdulgafour, of whom captain Hamilton observes, "that he  
"drove a trade equal to the East India company  
" (that is greatly exaggerated) for he had known  
"him fit out in a year above twenty sail of ships,  
"between 300 and 800 tons, and none of them  
"had less of his own stock than 20,000 pounds,  
"and some of them had 25,000, and after that  
"foreign stock was sent away, it behoved him to  
"have as much more of an inland-stock for the  
"following year's market. When he died, he  
"left his estate to two grandsons, his own son,  
"who was his only child, dying before him. But  
"the court had a fling at him, and got above a  
"million sterling of their estate."

ONE of the brothers dying, the remains of that fortune centered in Mahmud Ally, who, even after that great stroke of court-extortion, had still enough left to carry on a trade, not indeed equal to his grand-father, but however far superior to any other private person in Surat. He had also a fort of his own, called Otway, by the river-side, where he kept all his ware-houses, magazines, and stores for building ships, compactly and within himself.

BUT it happened unfortunately for him, that Lolladass Vituldass, a Banyan, and actually at that time head-broker to the East India company, with whose trade that of Mahmud Ally interfered, and perhaps inflamed by other personal piques and emulation, projected his ruin, and effected it.

LOLLDASS



LOLLDASS knew very well, that the Moorish governor of Surat would readily seize any occasion of destroying Mahmud Ally, not only for the sake of gratifying his avarice by the plunder of his estate, but for that of removing out of his way a man greatly obnoxious for his power to protect the merchants, being a preponderant weight in their scale, when joining them to withstand the oppressions of the government: a circumstance which had given equally umbrage to the preceding governor Sorab Cawn, who, before he was removed, had also marked him out for his prey.

THE Mogul's court was then immersed in that supine indolence, which had invited the Persian invasion by Shaw Nadir, more commonly known in Europe by the name of Thamas Kouli-Cawn; so that the Nabobs, and governors of cities, lived in a sort of contumacy or independence on his commands. But what was worse yet, especially for Surat, that rule of good policy had been omitted with respect to its government, which had always before established, that the governor of the town should be separate from, and utterly unconnected with the governor of the castle, who was even ordered not to stir out of the castle while his government lasted, unless perhaps once a year to repair in ceremony, and with all proper precautions to pay his devotions at the head-mosch. To this check was also added another, which was an universal practice over the whole empire. The Mogul used to keep a residentiary, or at least send occasionally an authorized minister, under the title of Vocaneveefs, whose business was to inspect and report to him the conduct of his governors, and prefects of provinces, to whom this person was not only un subordinate, but an awe and terror.

ALL these wise dispositions were however, at this time of universal negligence, laid aside: and the

governor of the castle was not only nearly related to Teg-beg Cawn, the governor of the town, but absolutely at his disposal; so that every thing was done in a concert between them, which opened the door to the oppression that followed.

LOLLDASS taking advantage of these circumstances; and himself being rendered desperate by the declension of his own, easily found means to suggest to a governor, already greedy of embracing such an overture, the design of destroying a man obnoxious to them both.

ACCORDINGLY he took such an advantage of a storm originally raised against the whole body of merchants themselves, that the issue of it was Mahmud Ally's perishing in it: for having stood on his defence against the new governor Teg-beg Cawn, and being deserted by that party of the Gentoo merchants especially, over whom, to their afterwards great and vain regret, the influence that Lolldass had still retained, though himself was on the point of bankruptcy, had prevailed, he fell defenceless, in consequence of a confederacy of them, at which himself had been the head, for their mutual protection and security, by such a turn as could hardly be imagined things could take, and which for the rarity of it, besides the importance of its consequences, it may not be disagreeable to the reader, to see a summary account.

MAHMUD ALLY, on having certain intimation, that Sorab Cawn, the Mogul governor of the town, and with whom himself had formerly close connections and dealings, was projecting a general extortion from himself, and all the merchants of Surat, took care to spread the alarm, and invited the merchants to join him, and make a common cause against the governor; engaging himself to bear principally the charges of the contest. This league was accordingly formed, and was so successful,  
that

that Sorab Cawn was not only expelled his government, but Teg-beg Cawn, by the interest of the governor of the castle, substituted in his room, against all the rules of good policy, against the constitution of the state, and especially against the inclination of Mahmud Ally. For Teg-beg Cawn had been in that post before; but had been revoked for his oppressions, and had never thereafter afforded the least room to hope, that he had changed his tyrannical or avaritious temper, and was besides particularly detested by Mahmud Ally; who now found too late, that he had been hurried farther than what he had originally intended, which was the depression, rather than the destruction of Sorab Cawn, who was besides considerably his debtor, and began to repent of the excesses into which this affair had led him, especially too, as those very merchants, whose interest was a common one with him, had not only construed his promises of bearing the charges of the opposition in an unlimited sense, but had paid him so little regard, as without consulting him, or indeed the dictates of common sense, to set up a man for governor, against whom he had such just objections, of a public besides a private nature.

IN this mood of repentance, for a conduct which only self-defence could justify, or success save from the charge and consequences of open rebellion, against a governor appointed by royal authority, he began to relent, and incline, if not towards a restoration of Sorab Cawn, at least to wish to preserve him from falling into the hands of his enemies, who would probably have given him no quarter. The interest he had in his not being plundered, utterly ruined, and ultimately murdered, who was not only the lawful governor, but also his debtor, joined to considerations of former friendship, engaged him to give this very

governor Sorab Cawn, of whose expulsion he had been the original promoter, refuge in his castle of Otway, with four others of his retinue, and by this means procured their escape.

THIS however was deemed by the enemies of Sorab Cawn, and especially by Lolldas, who had a great hand in setting Teg-beg Cawn up, as a perfidious desertion of the league formed by himself: and this advantage he improved, so as to inflame both the new governor and all his partizans to such a pitch, that they laid siege to the castle of Otway, forced it to surrender, and, in razing it to the ground, implicitly destroyed the capital fortrefs of the liberty of Surat.

Soon after which, on a kind of forced visit to Teg-beg Cawn, Mahmud Ally was seized, made a prisoner, and barbarously murdered one night in the apartment where he was confined, by the governor's ruffians. Then the remains of his estate were plundered, and his two sons left entirely at the discretion, mercy, and charity of this assassin of their fathers.

NOR did Lolldas long survive the success of his schemes; for when he saw the tragical issue of it, which went probably beyond his intentions, in the same manner as Mahmud Ally had himself been hurried along by the force of conjectures, further than he had meant in his opposition to Sorab Cawn; when he saw the fatal catastrophe of this great and beloved merchant, and all eyes turned upon him, as imputing it to him, that, joined to the disorders of his own affairs, it was thought broke his heart; he dying soon after suddenly, without any other cause visibly assignable for it, and left his sons in bankrupt circumstances.

WITHOUT taking on me to justify or condemn Mahmud Ally, having only related the facts on the best authorities I could procure, I shall only  
add

add that his death, which happened in the year 1732, was the epoch of the declension of the Surat trade, and the beginning of all the disorders, embroils, and confusion that followed, in which the English were not exempt from their share of suffering, and into a specification of which, it could be but little interesting, and very tedious to enter here\*.

I HAVE before observed, that the Gentoos were extremely numerous here ; especially that tribe or cast of the Banyans, who are constitutionally or professedly merchants. I have often read, often heard them represented as a tricking, artful set of people, full of low cunning, that made it difficult to deal with them : but this can, I think, only be understood, if it be at all true, of the petty, under-dealers among them : for those of them who are properly merchants, in the extensive sense of that word, are in general the fairest, openest dealers in the world ; and those of Surat were especially famous for the simplicity and frankness of their transactions. For example, on a ship's importing there, nothing more was to be done, than for the commander, or supracargoe, to bring his musters or samples on shore, together with his invoice ; and the considerable merchants resorting to him, would immediately strike a bargain for the whole cargoe, if the assortment suited them, with no other trouble than settling the per centage upon the items of the invoice. In this manner many a cargoe, from five to ten, twenty, thirty thousand pounds and upwards, has been sold in half an hour's time with very few words, and the amount paid down upon the nail, either in ready money,

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\* See vol. II. p. 320, for the reduction of Surat, by the English in 1752.

or by barter, according as the vender and purchaser agreed, with as much good faith, at least, as is ever observed among the European merchants of the most established character of probity. Then their readiness at running all the hazards of trade was even proverbial, inasmuch, that it has not been unjustly observed of them, that if their personal equalled their commercial courage, they would incontestably be the bravest people on the earth. But that is far from the case: one would rather think, by them, that the one excluded the other.

THOSE Banyans have indeed one constitutional advantage over the European merchants; but then it is such, that these last cannot fairly complain of it, which is their invincible phlegm and coolness in the course of their transactions. Whether you offer them shamefully less than their goods are worth, or fly into passions at their under-rating yours, there is no such thing as provoking them into the least show of passion or indecency. They calmly suffer you to evaporate your resentment without interrupting you, and waiting patiently till your fit of drunkenness is off, for they look on it in no other light, they return coolly to the same point, as if nothing had stirred them from it; and if they depart from it, you may depend that it is not in the least out of any consideration for what you shall have said to them in your fury, but purely for their own ends, and in consequence of their own inward representations to themselves. In that they have, in this point, the same advantage over the Europeans, that a cool gamester has over a passionate one.

BUT besides the number of Gentoo inhabitants of Surat, its suburbs, and neighboring villages, employed purely in trade, money-changing, broker'ship, and manufactures, they are often employed in posts under the Moorish government, as collectors,



lectors, surveyors of the customs, and other offices of trust; especially where accomptantship is required, in which they generally excel the Moors, who are bred more in the military way: and it has been observed, that none are more rigorous exactors over the Gentoos, nor readier to abet, or even set on foot any vexation, or extortion from them, than these Gentoos themselves. One would imagine oppression was their element, and that they could not breathe out of it.

THE governor of Surat keeps his seat of administration at what is called the Durbar, where he is generally present himself, and gives his orders. It is here that all actions criminal and civil are brought before him, and summarily dispatched in the Eastern manner. One piece of state too he observes, that I have no where before seen mentioned, and that is, that he never on any thing material speaks to his attendants, but writes, in the Persian language, his orders upon little slips of paper, that lie by him ready for that purpose, and when written, are called Hookums, and must be obeyed without reply. These are afterwards brought him, like a return of a judicial process, and being strung, serve as a kind of record of his acts of the day.

THE Morattoes are however now grown so predominant, and their influence is so far spread into that city itself, that unless the Mogul government should resume its ascendancy, of which there is very little likelihood, the government of it already so precarious, must soon become entirely dependent on them, when it is a question whether even their own clear interest in the preservation of the trade of it, will prevail over that constitutional indifference of theirs to it, and that passion for present pillage, which have been already set forth.

AT Surat too they excel in the art of ship-building. If their models were as fine as those of the English,

English, of whom especially they prefer the imitation, there would be no exaggeration in averring, that they build incomparably the best ships in the world for duration, and that of any size, even to a thousand tons and upwards. But their naval, like their other architecture, has always something clumsy, unfinished, and un-artist-like in it; otherwise the reign of their ships is much longer than that of the European-built ones: it is not uncommon for one of them to last a century, and that not so much owing to the commonly summer seas in those parts, as to the solidity of their workmanship, and the nature of the wood they employ.

As to the first, their bottom and sides are composed of planks let in to one another, in the nature as I apprehend of what is called rabbit-work; so that the seams are impenetrable: and the knees, or crooked timbers, are generally of the natural growth into that form, without being forced or warped by fire, especially where particular care is taken of their construction, and their expence not spared.

AND as to the wood, it is a sort, called teak, to the full as durable as oak, and has, besides this property, that it is not so apt in an engagement with cannon-shot to fly in splinters, which usually do more mischief to the men than the balls themselves. They have also a peculiar way of preserving their ships-bottoms, by occasionally rubbing into them an oil, they call wood-oil, which the planks imbibe, and serves greatly to nourish and keep them from decay.

THEY do not launch their ships as we do from slips; but by digging canals from the water to where the stocks, or what they call craddles are, from which they are, as it were, dropped into the stream that is brought up to them.

I AM also sensible, that Surat is not the only place by many in India, where ships are built, but none as yet are comparable to them. Pegu is also a noted place for ship-building; but I never learnt that they were as yet there come into that way of rabbit-work bottoms, which renders the Surat ships so strong: though I have otherwise seen very fine vessels of the built of that country.

THE masting generally used in the country-ships, are Pohoon-masts, chiefly from the Malabar coast; but for the cordage, what is worth any thing must come from Europe: their coyr-ropes, made of the fibres of coconut-husks, being for either running or standing-rigging, more harsh and untractable than what is produced from hemp. I have, however, seen very serviceable and large coyr-cables, which, in opposition to the Europe ones, last much longer in salt-water, fresh being apt to rot them.

THEIR anchors are mostly European, our iron being much better, and better worked. As to sails, they are very well supplied by the country-manufacture of cotton into a sail-cloth called dungaree, which, though not so strong or lasting as canvass, Holland's duck, or vitry, is, while in use, more pliant, and less apt to split than they are. And for pitch they have the gum of a tree, which is called damar, not at all inferior to the other.

THEIR navigators are very indifferent artists; formerly they used to get Europeans to command their ships; but lately they make a shift to do without them, having trained up to it some of the natives, who may just serve in those parts, where they seldom put to sea but in the fair season, and where consequently they rarely meet with storms to try their skill. Their common sailors are rather better in their class, though wanting the vigor, expertness, and patience of fatigue, in the Europeans. Yet, where some of our ships have been

too far weakened in their crews, by sickness or other casualties, they have been obliged to borrow the assistance of these black sailors, or lascars, to bring them home. The public has here seen some of them miserable objects about the streets of London, begging charity, and exposed to all the distresses incident to persons so far remote from their native country, friendless, and abandoned, for want of knowing the laws and customs here, which joined to the thoughtlessness one would think natural to those of their rank on that element, rendered them a prey to all the little low designing people, among whom their station of life and misfortune had cast them away.

As to the buildings of Surat, there are some very good houses in their style of building, which is partly Gentoo, and partly Morisque. Those of the greatest note are so contrived, that the gateway is defensible against any sudden irruption of a few armed men : a circumstance of no small import, in a city, where often the withstanding the first brunt of any persons sent by the government to oppress, or destroy the owner, is attended with future security, by the alarm raising a party to relieve, or oppose his proceedings. The private apartments lye backwards, for the greater security of the women, of whom the Moors especially are remarkably jealous. They are very fond of having one room, at least in particular, where a fountain is kept playing in the midst of it, by the noise of which they are lulled to sleep, and refreshed by the coolness it diffuses through the apartment ; but which is attended with a damp, of which I would not advise an European to make the experiment. Besides, the common convenience of eastern sofas, which are so commodious for their manner of sitting cross-legged, they all like European looking-glasses, which are what they chiefly hang  
their

their rooms with. Another ornament too they have, which has not an ill effect upon the eye, and that is the beams of the chamber-cieling, curiously inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl, like the hand-scrutores that come from thence, in florishes and scroll-work, agreeable to the Morisque taste. They have generally a kind of saloon, which they call a Diwan, entirely open on one side to the garden, where they have fountains playing, which joined to the variegated flower-beds in front of it, of which they are very curious, add to the pleasantness and airiness of the prospect. In summer, when the heats are most intense, though never so intolerable as in many other places, nor unwholesome that ever I could learn, they have country-recesses a little way out of town, where they reside, or go in parties to enjoy themselves in their gardens and freescades, by the side of the waters with which they are furnished. The English company has especially a very pleasant garden, kept for the use and recreation of the gentlemen of the factory; though lately the incursions of the Morattoes to the very gates of the city, and the constant alarms of the country round, have made those rural recesses too unsafe to consist with a satisfactory enjoyment of them.

THE streets of Surat are irregularly laid out; but have one propriety which renders them agreeable to the walkers, in the heat of the day, and that is, a competent width of them being left at bottom, the stories of the houses are carried up so projecting over one another, that the uppermost apartments on each side of the street are so close to one another, that one may with ease converse from them; a way of building, that whilst it overshades the street, does not exclude a free ventilation, which is rather attracted by it. The shops however, though in this great trading city, where every

ry thing almost that can be asked for is to be found, have a very mean appearance, the dealers keeping their goods chiefly in warehouses, and selling by samples.

As to the living in Surat, I mean for provisions, I cannot imagine that there is in the world a better place, while the communication especially with the country is open. For to say nothing of the abundance of every article which an unbounded importation throws into the market there, the natural productions of the soil are excellent in their kind, and thereby atone for their perhaps being less cheap, as to the quantity, than at some other places of India, as at Bengal especially, where the cattle and poultry are bought at a very low rate, and yet turn out dear by the time they are properly fed for the table. Here then all manner of eatables are at a reasonable price, ready for immediate use, and as good as can any where be found. The wheat of Surat is famous all over India, for its singular whiteness, substance, and taste; and nothing can exceed their sallads and roots. There are also many kinds of wild fowl and game to be had at an easy rate.

As to wines and spirituous liquors, the Europeans depend chiefly on importation for them, few relishing the distillery of the country, which however produces various strong spirits, to which they give names that would seem odd; such as spirit of mutton, spirit of deer, spirit of goat; but for the reason they annex to it, which is their throwing into the still, according to the liquor they propose, a joint of mutton, a haunch of venison, a quarter of a goat, which give respectively their names to the distillation. This they imagine, how justly I do not pretend to know, super-adds to the liquor a certain mellowness and softness, that corrects the fieriness of the spirit.

AMONG



AMONG the articles of luxury, which they have in common with other parts of the East, and especially the Mahometans, they have public hummums for bathing, cupping, rubbing and sweating; of which there needs no particular description, being so generally well known. But the practice of champing, which by the best intelligence I could gather is derived from the Chinese, may not be unworthy particularizing, as it is so little known to the modern Europeans; though on my mentioning it here in England, I have been assured, the antients practised something very like it, by the description which a friend pointed out to me: but I leave the reader to judge of the fitness of the quotation.

*Percurrit agili corpus arte traclatrix  
Manumque doctam spargit omnibus membris.*

Mart. Lib. III. Epig. 82.

SENECA too, at the end of his sixty-sixth letter, inveighs against it as a point of luxury crept in among the Romans; which however proves that it was not unknown to them. His words are, *An potius optem ut malacissandos articulos exoletis meis porrigam? ut muliercula, aut aliquis in mulierculam ex viro versus digitulos meos ducat?* "Should I rather wish to hold out my joints to be softened and suppled by some superannuated chamber-minion; or suffer a woman, or a man effeminated into one, to stretch my fingers?" But whether he is right or wrong in his stoical conception of it, the Orientalists annex no idea of indecency or immodesty to it, and the manner of it is this: after the ceremony of sweating, bathing, rubbing, &c. is gone through, and which is not always previously used, since many are frequently champed at home, the person that chooses it, lies at his

length on a couch, bed, or sofa, where the operator handles his limbs as if he was kneading dough, or pats them gently with his hands an edge, and chafes or rubs them, concluding with cracking all the joints of the wrist and fingers, and if you will allow them that of the neck, being extremely dextrous at this work. All this, they pretend, not only supple the joints, but procures a brisker circulation to the fluids apt to stagnate, or loiter through the veins, from the heat of the climate, which is perhaps the best excuse for this practice. The sensations it excites in some are surprising, by its inducing a kind of pleasing languor or delirium, under which they are ready to faint away, and sometimes actually do so. Both Moors and Gentoos are however extremely fond of this practice, and it is so common, that it would be hard to find a barbar-native who is not skilled in it, as one of the essentials of that profession; of which some particulars are also different from the European. For they shave constantly with the grain, with great ease and dexterity, and have all one uniform set of materials, a round glass, with a handle stuck in their girdle like a dagger, which they put in your hands whilst you are shaving: a little copper tumbler not bigger than a common tea-cup, and some instruments for picking the ears, and paring the nails, hung on a wire like a bunch of keys, or in a tweezer-case. In short, one must do the Orientalists in general the justice to allow, that none are more studious of the cleanliness and suppleness of the body than they are; which they perhaps not absurdly conceive, conduces even to the pleasure of the mind, and if even matter of sensuality, is surely the most excusably such.

THE Gentoowomen, and those of the best fashion, make no scruple of going to the river-side,  
and

and bathing publicly and indifferently in the sight of the men. They go into the water indeed with their cloaths on; but the wetting them soon makes them cleave so close to their bodies, that they express very clearly the fashion and turn of the limbs; a circumstance which probably gave the Grecian artists the first notion of employing in statuary a wet drapery, as exhibiting nearest the justness of nudity, without its indecency. But when they come out of the water, and change their wet for dry cloaths, it is then that the eye of the most curious spectator is at fault; for they have so dextrous a knack at shifting, that though it is done so openly, not the least glimpse of any thing immodest can be perceived.

As to public diversions, or entertainments, I could not learn there were any, except the dancing-girls, and the jugglers.

As to the dancing-girls, they form a distinct branch of the community; of which more shall be said in its place.

THE jugglers, or slight-of-hand-men, greatly excel whatever I have seen or heard of them in Europe. Their tricks and deceptions in short are so amazing, that I confess I have not the courage to relate what I have myself been eye-witness to, or been credibly assured of, for fear of being taxed with running into that marvellous of which travellers are so fond. One story, however, I cannot help relating, though digressively on this occasion, as I think it does honor to humanity, and not the less, for being found in so low and despicable a class.

A LONG-BOAT with men going up from an English ship, to Calcutta, a fortified settlement we have on the banks of the Ganges in Bengal, stopped short of it a considerable way, waiting for the return of the tide, and went on shore to a moorish village,

village, where just at that time were some of these jugglers shewing, to a mob gathered round them, their various tricks; one of which, and no juggle, was the firing a pistol loaded with powder down one of their throats. On the arrival of the sailors, this was to be repeated, for they had before done it, but their powder having been consumed, one of the sailors innocently offered the man some he had about him. It was accepted, and the effect of it was, that being much stronger than what they used for this purpose, it killed the man upon the spot. As he was a Mahometan, and the whole village was so, the mob instantly rose, and were preparing to massacre all the sailors there, in revenge for the Mussulman's blood, and would infallibly have done so, but for the humane interposition of the jugglers themselves, who declared; that however sorry they might be for the death of their brother, it was by no means imputable to the English, who were evidently clear of any malicious design in it. This alone appeased the populace, and the sailors were suffered to return quietly to their boat.

THERE is one particular branch of the art of these jugglers, I cannot pass by, too well attested to doubt of it, and of which those who practise it never refuse giving the clearest proof; which is their incantation of snakes; I say incantation, though no doubt it is to be naturally accounted for, however incapable I am of it. When a snake lurking in an house has bit any person, one of these men being sent for, will, with an instrument something resembling a flageolet, play certain tunes upon it, the sound of which operates so powerfully on the snake, that he comes out of his hole, forced as it were, and with apparent reluctance presents itself to those ready to kill him. I am fully aware of the ridicule this will meet with from many; but prefer  
even

even the certainty of incurring it, to the suppression of what I tried myself to disbelieve till convinced of it. In the mean time this incredulity, often indeed well founded, but when too general has this ill effect, that it prevents examinations, which might issue in very valuable discoveries.

AT Surat, all religions are tolerated; than which nothing can be more political, especially in a place of such universal trade. The Moors, who are the masters, seem to relax of that rigor and fondness for making of profelytes, they have in most other parts where their religion prevails. They are so little curious of encouraging apostates, that there are very rare instances of any, and those, generally speaking, live and die neglected and miserable. If they take an European into their service, as they sometimes do, in quality of gunners, for they think all Europeans are born engineers, they never trouble their heads with what religion they are of, or molest them about it.

THE inhabitants in and about Surat are commonly very industrious, and have on foot a number of manufactures, which it would be too tedious to specify; but the most considerable is that of their atlasses, or sattins flowered with gold or silver, which have a rich substantial look, though otherwise in a very indifferent taste. The flowers ill fancied, and without air, and the red color which is mostly used, for the ground, dull and unsightly.

SOME shawls are manufactured there; but few and not of the finest sort, those coming from the province of Cachemire on the borders of Tartary, being made of a peculiar kind of silky hair, that produces from the loom a cloth beautifully bordered at both ends, with a narrow flowered selvage, about two yards and a half long, and a yard and a half wide, which without farther trouble of mak-

ing up, serves the natives for a wrapper or mantle; and, according to the price, which is from ten pounds and upwards to fifteen shillings, joins to exquisite fineness, a substance that renders them extremely warm, and so pliant, that the fine ones are easily drawn through a common ring for the fingers.

THE manufacturers have a commodious way, when their work has not been bespoke, as it commonly is by the wholesale merchants, to make a quick sale of it: they repair to the Bazar, or market-place, where they stand and hold up the piece ready finished, to any chapman that shall offer their price, much in the same manner as our farmers stand in rows at a country-market, with samples of grain in their hands, and they rarely return without disposing of them, as there are a number of petty dealers attend the market for the purchasing of them, thus at the first hand; and vend them afterwards in quantities to the greater merchants. This custom will be hardly thought a bad one, as it is a continual incentive to industry, by shewing it an easy and assured vent of its produce, and besides, frees the poor manufacturers from the tyranny of the wholesale dealers.

SURAT too being the only sea-port of very considerable note, and unpossessed by the Europeans, in the whole immense dominions of the Mogul, it is easily imaginable that the inland trade, especially to Delly and Agra, the capital residences of that court, which are about a month's journey from Surat, must employ a number of caravans, or cassilahs, for the distribution of the imports. But unfortunately the roads, never perfectly safe, on account of the independent Rajahs, are lately grown much less so, from the troubles and convulsions of the whole country.

FORMERLY



FORMERLY the security of them was provided for by a very singular expedient. The whole caravan at setting out was put under the protection of one single person, a boy, but ofteneft a woman, hired and selected from a cast sacred for that purpose among the Gentoos, from whose free-booter's tribes all the danger of the journey arises. When any of these met with the caravans, on a design to pillage them, it was the duty of this single guard to interpose, and protest against the violence, with a solemn threat to kill him or herself in case they persisted: which threat was always attended with the execution, if the robbers proceeded further; and the sure consequence was, their incurring thereby all the guilt of sacrilege, and the penalty both of a civil and religious excommunication never to be taken off, being thereby for ever degraded, detested, and renounced by their own tribes. I do not however believe that this custom still subsists: whether the race of those faithful suicides is extinguished; or what is most probable, that the Gentoos have made their religion yield to their ruling passion for plunder, and brought this custom into disuse, from their ceasing by common consent to respect it.

BETWIXT Surat and Bombay there is a constant intercourse preserved, not only by sea, the distance being but small, but by Pattamars, or foot-messengers, over land, which are used in the same way throughout India, and hired at a moderate rate, who carry letters to add fro. They are very expeditious in their journeys, and commonly use opium, which they think fortifies them, and by this means will keep on running, and dozing as it were at the same time with their eyes open, and without feeling the fatigues of the way.

AND here having mentioned opium, I shall take the liberty of a small digression thereon, that I may

not return to it again. It is not then only the Patta-mars, who take opium in the intention of strengthening their powers for service, but most of the hard laboring people of Surat, and especially the Hamalls or porters, who make a livelihood of carrying goods to and from the warehouses, and will endure such loads, as few of the stoutest Europeans can undertake. I have been credibly assured, that some of these fellows will take at one doze three copper gorze weight of this drug, without danger; which is considerably above an ounce weight, and pretend that it greatly enables them to work and carry burthens.

MANY of the rich and great contract a habit of it, but with different views; considering it not only as a high point of sensuality, from the pleasing deliriums they experience from it, but as a specific for procuring a priapism that serves to spin out the venereal congress, as long as they please, by taking a competent dose of it, usually in a vehicle of milk, boiled away from a large to a small quantity; and when they have a mind to check or put an end to its operation, they do it by swallowing a spoonful or two of lime-juice, or of any equivalent acid. By this means, however, it commonly happens that the users of it, by forcing nature, wear out its springs, and bring on themselves prematurely all the inconveniences of old age: but this is a consideration that weighs little with the generality of the Orientalists, always more actuated by any present favorite objects, than by a providential regard for remote ones.

If you would believe them too, there is a kind of paradoxical mixture of effects in the operation of this drug, causing at once a seeming heaviness of the head, and visible sleepiness of the eye, and yet withal a great watchfulness; in confirmation

of which, the following story passes current at Surat.

THAT one of its town-governors, on receiving a visit from a Gentoo-rajah, with whom he was in friendly correspondence, at a garden just out of the city-walls, they met with each their guards and attendants, and without any of that treachery, which is not uncommon among them, intended on either side. As they were walking together in the garden, the governor took notice of the Rajah's guards, who were squatted down in their manner, under an open guard-room, with their heads leaning, or rather nodding upon their naked swords, and to all appearance dozing, or fast asleep. The governor then smiling remarked to the Rajah, that he had a very just opinion of his good faith, since he would venture himself to this interview with guards in such a condition, from the opium he knew it was their custom to take. "That, says the Rajah, is your mistake, and to prove it to you, if you have any body near you, of whom you do not care what becomes, bid him as softly as he pleases, pluck a flower out of any of their turbants." The governor, who either had such a person at hand, or did not apprehend the consequence, ordered one he pitched upon, to do what the Rajah had mentioned; in proceeding to which, with all the caution recommended, and addressing himself to him, who seemed the most overcome with sleep, the Rajah's guard felt it, and without more ceremony, at one stroke cut off his arm, and the rest were instantly alert, and on foot; and thus the governor was satisfied of their vigilance, at the expence indeed of a servant, whose being guilty enough to deserve an exposure to such a trial, or innocent, was probably no great matter of consequence under that perfectly arbitrary government.

OPIMUM is also considered by these people as such a specific inspirer of courage, or rather heedlessness of danger, that the commanders make no scruple of allowing it their soldiers, especially when employed on any very perilous or desperate enterprize.

THE best in the world is said to come from Patna, on the river Ganges, where at least the greatest traffic of it is made, and from thence exported all over India; though in some parts of it, especially on the Malay-coast, it is prohibited under pain of death, from the madness, and the murderous effects of that madness, it has on the inhabitants; and yet the gain attending this article, makes it be smuggled into those countries, in spite of all the laws and precautions against it.

THE soil about the Ganges is accounted the best for producing the strongest sort of opium; of which one instance occurs to me, too remarkable to suppress the mention of it. A Nabob or viceroy of those parts having invited an English factory to an entertainment, a young gentleman, a writer in the company's service, sauntering about the garden, plucked a poppy, and sucked the head of it, probably not apprehending any greater force in it, than those plants have in England. The consequence was his falling into a profound sleep, of which the Nabob being apprized, and in much concern, eagerly enquired of the particular bed out of which the poppy was gathered by him, and on being told it, with great expression of sorrow, apologized for his having supposed that the nature of the poppies was in general too well known to have needed any warning, especially as the taste was so far from tempting, but that this peculiar sort, on which the English gentleman was so unfortunate to pitch, admitted of no human remedy or counter-poison, so that nothing could save him, as effectually it turned out, for that sleep was his last.

BANG is also greatly used at Surat, as well as all over the East, an intoxicating herb, of which it may be needless to say more after so many writers, who have fully described it: and it is hard to say what pleasure can be found in the use of it, being very disagreeable to the taste, and violent in its operation, which produces a temporary madness, that in some, when designedly taken for that purpose, ends in running what they call a-muck, furiously killing every one they meet, without distinction, until themselves are knocked on the head, like mad dogs. But by all accounts this practice is much rarer in India than it formerly was.

BUT, to resume my more immediate subject; I am to observe, that the intercourse between Bombay and Surat is not without great reason kept up, from the constant attention which is to be had to the company's investment, in the country-manufactures that is carried on there, and to the sale of the staple-goods sent out from England to that side of India, of which Surat is the capital mart, though lately greatly declined through the embroils of the country.

THE manufactures peculiar to that province of Guzarat, are chiefly carried on by the industry of the Parsees, or the race of Persian refugees, who, some centuries ago, fled from the face of the Mahometan persecution, then invaders and conquerors of the Persian dominions. They were brought to these parts where they and their race have ever since continued\*, in three vessels, in which they embarked with the utmost precipitation and confusion, and committed themselves to the wind and weather, to be carried into whatever country would receive them. By tradition, and according to all probability, as being the most obnoxious to

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\* Except a few who have lately settled at Bombay.

the conquerors, there were among them some of the principal men of the country. Nowrojee-Rustumjee, who was here in England, and whose family was in the greatest consideration among those people, deduced his descent from those kings of Persia, whose dynasty was destroyed by the Mahometan invasion, when the last prince of it, Izdigerd, a descendant from Cosroes, the son of Hormisdas, was dethroned and slain about the year 650. But whether his pretensions were just or not, or whether the rank of those fugitives was in general as high as their posterity assert it was; when they arrived at the country where Surat stands, they were hospitably received by the Gentoo inhabitants, who compassionated their distress, and were perhaps themselves alarmed with reason, as it proved afterwards at the progress of the Mahometans, which had thus fallen, like a storm, on a country not very distant from them.

I know there are several fabulous traditions of these refugees having landed where they first saw a fire, which they looked on as a propitious landmark to them, and that the Gentoos made a covenant with them, that they should conform to their customs, especially as to their abstaining from all animal food. But I never could learn, that these points of their history were attested by any authentic testimonials, or credited by the principal persons among them. The sole article of any consequence imposed on them was, that they should not kill any cows, or beasts of that species, which the Parsees their descendants to this day avoid, as looking upon themselves to be bound and concluded by that agreement of their ancestors; and even at Bombay, where they have the full liberty of acting as they please in that respect, I could never learn that they departed from this restriction. They also, in many other respects, adopted the  
manners



manners and customs of the Gentoos, rather from imitation than any necessity ; though otherwise they have kept their race unmixed. The wretched remnant of the Parsees who staid behind in Persia, and weathered out the storm, acknowledge these Parsees for their brethren : but there does not appear to have been any farther correspondence, or connection established between them. The truth is, that the Guzarat-Parsees seem to have entirely forgot their original country ; and from a long habituation, continued through so many generations, to consider India as their proper country ; even though from the laws of it, admitting no mixture by proselytism, or intermarriage, they must for ever remain a stranger race. They are generally fairer than the native Indians, especially the coasters ; though mostly and at best of a fallow yellowish hue ; but the women, those of them who are kept up and not employed in hard work, are tolerably clear skinned. They are most of them an industrious people, and the necessity probably that obliged their ancestors on their first arrival to betake themselves to labor for a livelihood in a strange country, has so far propagated its influence on the spirit and manners of their descendants, that they are the chief supporters of the Surat manufactures, and of agriculture. Numbers of them are also employed in ship-building, and in the distillery-trade ; which last commonly flourishes or sickens according as the Moorish governors of Surat, for the time being, are superstitious observers or not, of the Mahometan law ; which however, rather advises against the drinking of spirituous liquors, than it formally condemns it, several passages of the alcoran seeming rather levelled against the abuse than the use of them, though expressed in such a manner, as if the law-giver had known human nature well enough

to think it easier totally to abstain from a pleasure, than to be moderate in it.

For the rest, none, or but inconsiderably few of the Parsees, either meddle at all with the government, or with the military; submitting quietly to the power that is uppermost, whether Gentoo or Moorish, and consequently for their usefulness and inoffensiveness, generally meet with protection from both.

At present the Moorish government, at least nominally, prevails at Surat, though greatly declined and over-awed by their neighbors the Morattoes, with whom it is obliged to temporize and keep such measures as nearly resemble a submission. Nor is it likely but things may soon end in that, unless the Moors, who are too much outnumbered by the Gentoos to have any hopes of succeeding against them, should be enabled by foreign assistance to re-assume their former ascendancy, and once more drive the Gentoos back into their mountains and fastnesses.

As matters now stand, the Moorish sovereign of Indostan, so known by the title of Mogul, or rather as it should be Mongul, is no more than a phantom on the throne, ever since the invasion and retreat of Shah Nadir; reigning precariously, and at the pleasure of the principal Gentoo-Rajahs, who raise, depose, and even murder him, just as their interest or humor prompts them. The name of the Mogul-sovereignty would soon cease to exist, if they could agree among themselves whom to substitute; and this very indetermination may not improbably be the occasion of their losing the ground they have won, especially if some of the Mahometan neighboring powers should be tempted either to restore the authority of the Moguls, or to plant themselves in his place; and either of these events

events is especially to be apprehended from the north-east Tartars, bordering upon Indostan, who are now greatly recruited in numbers since the exhaustion of those countries by the draughts out of them, of those swarms with which the two great conquerors, Gingham Cawn and Tamerlane, subdued almost all Asia, carrying havock and desolation wherever their arms penetrated, and terror to remoter parts, and even to Europe itself. But, as a summary account of these mighty leaders may give a clearer notion of some points necessary to account for the present constitution and position of Indostan, I hope it will not be thought out of place, or impertinent to my subject.

GINGHIS CAWN, about the year 1200, after collecting under his standard an innumerable army of these north-east Tartars, which he had the influence to unite under him, though out of various tribes and nations before then utterly discordant, and living much like the savages of America, not only brought into subjection the great kingdom of China, and the nations bordering upon it, on the outside of the famous wall of that country, but extended his conquests to a great part of Asia, then and now possessed by the Mahometans, to whom he professed himself a greater enemy than to the Christians, whom he rather favored. As to himself, he was undoubtedly of that religion, which is called the religion of the great and learned of China, who hold no other object of worship but purely the *Thein*, or sovereign Being. This made him indifferent to all religions, and of course a tolerant; for as to the Mahometans he persecuted them more on a political account, than for any particular aversion he had to their tenets. His sons however, after his decease, soon found that a conformity to the Mahometan system, would

in the government of those rich countries, so preferable to the mountains and wilds of Tartary. Accordingly most of them adopted the mussulman faith, and made it their state-religion, to satisfy this new subject, though for the rest they acted as being far from bigots to it; as for instance, when Holagu Cawn, a grandson of Gingham Cawn, pursuing his conquests over Persia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, at length took Bagdad by storm, and without respect to the sacredness of character among the Mahometans, of the line of the Caliphs, he exterminated the last of it in the person of Motazem, whom he put to death in the most ignominious manner, by having him dragged about the streets of Bagdad till he expired. Even though Motazem appeared before him in the quality of a suppliant, and in the hopes of asswaging his wrath, had on his shoulders the very cloak Mahomet had once worn, and given, in a transport of applause, to Caab a poet, on his reading some Arabian verses to him. He had besides in his hands the staff of that prophet; but that holy trumpery availed him nothing, for the Tartar-general ordered the cloak and staff to be taken from him, and to be burnt in a pan, the ashes to be thrown into the Tygris, not out of any contempt, as he pretended, but to hinder those precious relics from falling thereafter into profane hands. This Motazem was at once the last of the Abbassid line, and of the caliphs of the Mahometans, whose authority had been long confined to purely spirituals, after having been for more than three centuries stripped of their temporal power; for one of them, in the year 935, having unadvisedly wholly trusted it to the chief of the military, a Turk called Rayk, who thenceforwards knew how to keep it, and transferred it to his successors in his office, long famous in Asia, under  
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the title of Emir-al-omrah, commander of the commanders, and afterwards by that of sultan, who governed both the state and the caliphs despotically, till they and the caliphate itself fell under the superior strength of the Tartar invaders.

BUT this Tartar-family soon after experienced the fate that usually attends the partition of an empire. For the descendants of Ginghis Cawn quarrelling among themselves, with all that inverteceracy which usually attends discord among relations, the whole race in a little time, either fell by one another's swords, or by the other Mahometan powers resuming courage and strength by their divisions, so that at present not even a remnant of that family exists in any state of power, except one branch of it, in the Crim or Precopian Tartary, which traces up a very dubious original to Ginghis Cawn, and is now a precarious tributary dependent on the Ottoman Porte, under the title of Khan or Cawn of Tartary. In short, in less than two centuries there was a clear stage, as to any material opposition from the princes of that race, even in Tartary itself, for Tamerlane to assume the supreme authority, who treading exactly in his steps, over-ran the greatest part of Asia, with a great army of Tartars, and in 1402, gave that celebrated defeat to Bajazet whom he took prisoner. But as if it had been fatal for those of that country to make conquests with more ease than they could preserve them, in scarce more than a century, all his descendants, from the very same error of partition, and its consequences, were extinguished except that branch of it, which had penetrated into Indostan, and conquered it from the Pattans. These were also Mahometans, of the race of those Sarracens, who, after they had spread their conquests over Asia and Africa, had not neglected the rich provinces of India. For a party of Arabs,

and that not a very numerous one, had some centuries before Tamerlane and his sons invasion, made a descent at Massulipatnam on the coast of Coromandel, where, meeting with no resistance from an effeminate unwarlike people, they soon penetrated into the heart of Indostan, and planted and maintained their seat of empire where it now is, about Agra and Dehli, till they were driven out by the superior force of the Tartars. Whilst the Gentoo Rajahs, through their wonted disunion and indolence, saw the change with indifference, or at least without materially taking part on either side.

THE Pattans however being thus dispossessed, those of them who escaped the sword, or would not submit to the conqueror, fled to the mountains that lye towards the borders of Persia, where, only solicitous to preserve their lives and independence, they formed a separate state, never thoroughly subdued by the Moguls, and yet never in a condition to dispute the field with them, but always troublesome, especially on their associating with other tribes of the Gentoo mountaineers, as the Rashpoots, Coolies, and Warrells, and occasionally exercising their depredations on the adjacent countries, without its being possible for the Moguls to come at them to extirpate them, especially since themselves soon became enervated by the deliciousness of those fruitful plains.

NAY the Pattans themselves seem so convinced, that the climate and soil of those provinces only serve to rob them of that hardiness they contract in the hills to which they are confined, that they have hitherto given no indications of a desire to exchange them for more pleasing abodes, or a more accessible situation. This it was that enabled them to brave even the victorious army of Nadir-shaw, whom they very quietly suffered to penetrate into Indostan, and waited his return when loaded with the spoils



spoils of that country. Then it was that by their harrassment of his troops in the streights and defiles of the mountains, they shewed him they were so much masters of the passes, as to force him to come to a composition with him for way-leave, that had all the air of a ransom.

WHAT then between these unsubdued Pattans and the independant Gentoo-Rajahs, and both inaccessible fortified in their mountains, it is evident, that the Mogul government had constantly a hard task to keep up a tolerably secure footing. Nor was it without at least as much art as strength, that it preserved its power, and especially with the Gentoos, whom as the most numerous, and being besides the Aborigines of the country, it had most reason to apprehend. Either then from a despair of totally reducing them, or from a growing indolence, the Mogul successors to Tamerlane applied themselves to the winning over at least to some show of homage and submission, the powerfullest of the Gentoo-Rajahs. And this they chiefly effectuated by their great toleration and easiness in point of religion.

It has before been observed, that the governing theology in proper Tartary, was the same as it is in China, and perhaps derived from China, so that the Mahometan religion professed by the Moguls, in imitation of Tamerlane the founder of their dynasty, was rather matter of political conformity, than of persuasion, so that it did not cost them much to relax on this article. Even Aurengzeb himself, who was so strict an observer of his law, is no exception to this, since it is well known, that he made his pretences to superior zeal and austerity, serve to the ends of acquiring and establishing his usurpation over his father, and over his brothers, whom he over-reached by purely these arts of dissimulation, by which he recom-

mended himself to the Mahometan zealots in the army. All the Moguls then since Tamerlane took the party of toleration, the easier for that deism, which made all religions at bottom indifferent to them, whilst they amused those of all religions with a favorable disposition towards them. Even some Roman-catholic priests, who had occasionally been careffed, and some even invited to that court, were the bubbles of this easiness in the Moguls, to listen to them, and even to permit their sons, and princes of their blood to give them hopes of being profelytes to them.

THEY would then, no doubt, for any scruples of their own to the contrary, have with respect to the Gentoos, acted the same part, as the Tartar princes had done with respect to the Mahometans. They would have politically embraced the Gentoos religion: but as one of its fundamentals is, the rejection of all profelytes to it, they could not, even had their persuasion been real, have paid them that compliment: all they could do, and that they did, was to appear entirely averse to any persecution on a religious account, and for the rest they continued Mahometans at large, in respect to the neighboring Mahometan powers, whom a throwing off entirely the appearances of that religion would have scandalized, and indisposed against them, to no purpose.

HERE I am sensible that the procedure of the Mogul-moors in destroying the temples and idols of the Gentoos, in many parts of the country, seems to contradict the idea I have attempted to give, on the best information I could get, of the Moguls spirit of toleration. For the fact is certainly true; though these outrages were never that I could learn committed, but in the heat of war, and in consequence of the provocations that attend it: besides that, some of their generals were hurried

ried on by their private zeal, so as to lose sight of the general system of the court-policy ; and what is more convincing yet is, that the Gentoo-Rajahs themselves always looked on those severities as particular cases of exception, or at least never appeared to formally resent them.

BUT whilst the Moguls thus aimed at making their government the more easy, and supportable to that infinite number of Gentoos, by indulging them in the free exercise of their religion, they did not also neglect the policy of keeping up the divisions and jealousies among the most powerful Rajahs from whom they had most to apprehend : and in this they succeeded to their wish, and might probably long have continued the tranquillity of their government, but for the relaxation and indolence into which the latter Moguls fell. Instead then of keeping a strict hand over the emirs, or great officers of the court, known by the title of omrahs, which is only the plural of emir, they suffered them to encroach on the royal authority, and themselves became subjected to that emir, who had obtained most influence and interest with the military. And here again the Mogul was only defended from utter deposition by the jealousies, and not the loyalty, of the great emirs among themselves, whose object of competition was, which of them should get possession of the Mogul's person, and reign under the shelter of a title, beyond which, and his seraglio or haram, they left him scarce any sign of power. Some, even of the emirs, who were invested with the government of the greater provinces, not only fortified themselves in them, and asserted an independence barely salved by a nominal homage, but entered into treaties with the Gentoo-Rajahs for their mutual support. Thus the famous Nizam-al-muluck, formerly known by the name of Chicklis-Cawn, by leaving

his son in his government, and besides secured by his confederacy with the Morattoes, durst venture his person to court, where his practices were perfectly known, and for the which being known, he was but the safer; and, though he had many potent enemies there, his competitors for power, he had influence and management enough to procure one of the highest posts of the state, and to impose on his sovereign the hardest of all necessities, that of employing and trusting a traitor knowing him to be one. But even not satisfied with his domestic treasons, and finding the credit of his enemies at court encreasing against him, he invited the Persian Shah-Nadir, better perhaps known in Europe under the name of Thamas-Kouli Khawn, to invade the Mogolistan, pointing it out to him as an easy prey, considering the luxurious effeminate disposition of a court, weakened moreover by intestine dissensions. Shah-Nadir, whose ruling passion was avarice and rapaciousness, greedily listening to a proposal that so much flattered it, entered into Nizam-al-muluck's schemes, and accordingly, after taking Candahar, that capital fortress which is the grand inlet into that empire, invaded India, where his expedition met with that success, which has been too fully described by a Persian writer, translated by Mr. Frazer, to need a repetition here.

THIS event, however, so enfeebled the Mogul government, that the Gentoo-Rajahs beginning to feel more their own strength, seem now greatly to prevail, and will probably keep their ascendant, unless, as has before been observed, some of the hardy nations bordering on Indostan, should support the Moorish interest, and revindicate those rich provinces, of which the Mogul government has either lost possession, or where its interest is visibly

visibly declined. And in this they have the better chance to succeed, as the bulk of the Gentoos themselves prefer a Moorish to a Gentoogovernment, for reasons on which I have already sufficiently touched\*.

As to the Moguls themselves, or rather the principal Moorish courtiers, for the Indians vulgarly involve them all under that appellation, though numbers of them are originally from Persia, or other parts\* Tartary, they, generally speaking, affect great state and splendor, according to their various appointments, and posts; and none study more the luxuries of life, though in a manner and taste somewhat different from the Europeans.

THEY take care to have their seraglios, or harems, furnished with the handsomest women that can be procured for love or money. Those of Cashmire are the most preferred in the Mogolistan, as the Georgians and Circassians are over Persia and Turkey; and with reason, being much fairer than in any other province of the Mogolistan, and having besides the advantage of a delicacy in shape and make, which is chiefly in request among them. This taste they even push to such an extravagance, as to scruple no price hardly for a female slave, which to her other beauties should have that added of a plumpness covering the smallest bones that can be imagined, for in the bone they think the weight chiefly consists, and therefore those who weigh the least, are by them reckoned the rarest and most delicate pieces. Those who, among us, pass for comely majestic-dames, would not meet

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\* For a farther account of the emperors of Indostan from Tamerlane in 1398 to his descendant Mahomed Shah in 1730: the power of Nizam-al-Muluck: the conquest of Indostan by Nadir Shah in 1738; and the declension of the Great Mogul's power, see the introduction to my second volume.



with admirers among those people. As to all their women, however, when shut up in their harems, they are extremely jealous of them, and follow the usual Asiatic method of committing them to the guard of eunuchs, mostly made such by a total abscission. The blackest Abyssinian ones too are preferred, not only on account of their color not appearing so tempting, but for their fidelity and discretion, in which they excel the slaves of all other nations. In the mean time nothing can be well imagined more cruel, or more contrary to the benevolent institutes of nature, than thus sacrificing a number of poor creatures to the caprice and jealousy of one man, who perhaps amidst three or four hundred, nay as far as a thousand and upwards, confines his embraces to a very few of them, whilst the others, in the flower of their age, and with all the violence of the melting passion, inspired and nursed by the heat of the climate, pine away with unsatisfied desires. And sometimes the rage of them is so great, as to make them seek for relief, even to the greatest hazard of their lives.

THIS engrossing of such numbers of women, besides being attended with such tragical events, and the injustice of rendering miserable and useless so many of that amiable sex, besides the injury done to the population of the country, has another worse consequence, and that almost all over the East where this custom so much prevails; as it inclines both the great and the meaner sort to the nefarious sin, the same effect resulting from two very different causes. For as this custom necessarily thins society of the women, that would otherwise appear on the ranks for wives; the poorer sort, from the scarcity of that sex, in the necessity of giving their passions a vent, betake themselves to their own; whilst on the other hand,



hand, the abundance of it at command of the rich, breeds a satiety that operates the same disposition. So that every consideration, human and divine, seems to establish the preference of the European law permitting but one wife, to the polygamy and concubinage of the Orientalists.

IN short, the Moguls have chiefly adopted not only the language of the Persians, which is entirely in use at court; but their manners, and refinements of luxury.

THEIR buildings are all in the Persian stile; and they are, like them, fond of fine gardens, and especially of water, both dormant and in action from natural or artificial cascades, the climate supplying them with plenty of ever-greens. In the midst of the gardens, they have commonly neat, airy pavilions, contrived with special regard to coolness, where the owners indulge themselves in parties of pleasure with their women, in the heat of the day, and in the cool of the evening on the sides of their ponds, finely ornamented with steps down to the water-side, and in the middle, on every side of the oblong square, which is generally the figure of them, with places for recumbence, spread with Persian or Turkey carpets. Their gardens are commonly pretty much like the Chinese, in a wilderness stile, with this particularity, that the door is generally at a corner of the wall, instead of being in the middle, as is the European manner. By this means the avenue to the pavilion does not front it, so as to present to its view the length of a gravel, or tediously uniform green walk; instead of which they prefer, for the pleasure of the eye, beds of flowers, as variegated as possible, and in all the confusion of wild nature, which are immediately subjacent to every side of the pavilion, to whose corners only the walks obliquely lead, so as not to intersect those flower spots.

pots. As to statues, knots, quaint devices, or symmetrized compartments, they have happily no idea of, or taste for them.

ONE of their great diversions at these recesses, and indeed at all their public entertainments, which diversion too they have in common with the Gentoos, are the dancing-girls; for whom they send to a particular place, either of their district or town, and of whom there are never wanting a competent number for the use of the public, to which they are so devoted, that one may safely say, that those of this profession have made vows of unchastity which they religiously keep. For according to their institutes, they are bound to refuse no one for their price, which is not indeed stated, but governed by their rate of beauty and accomplishments. There are even particular sets of them appropriated to the service of the Gentootemples, and the use of the Bramin-priests that belong to them. But wherever they are, whether settled or ambulatory, which last is often the case, they live in a band or community, under the direction of some super-annuated female of the same profession, under whom they receive a training, as regular as in an academy, or like horses in a manège, and learn all the paces, and acts of pleasing, in which they are but too successful. For nothing is more common, than for the princes, and chief men of those countries, to take a particular liking to one of those creatures, and to lavish immense sums upon her, notwithstanding their haram is stocked with far superior beauties of person, who are besides possessed of that of modesty, natural to women constantly sequestered from the sight of men, and which is not at least lessened in appearance to their lords, by that constitutional violence of desire to which they are subject, and which makes some of them transgress  
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the bounds of decency, on particular occasions. These dancing-girls besides are generally recruited out of the people of all casts and denominations, though not without especial regard to beauty or agreeableness; yet even the knowledge of their being so common, cannot with many out-balance their natural and acquired charms; which will not appear incredible to those, who know how much the Opera-girls in France were, and have not yet ceased to be, in fashion. Their dances however would hardly at first relish with Europeans, especially as they are accompanied with a music far from delightful, consisting of little drums they call Gummings, cymbals, and a sort of fife, which make a hideous din, and are played on by men, whose effeminacy, grimaces, and uncouth shrivelled features, all together, shock the eye, and torture the ear. However, by use we become reconciled to the noise, and may observe some not unpleasing airs, with which the dancers keep time: the words often express the matter of a pantomime dance, such as a lover courting his mistress, a procurer bringing a letter, and endeavoring to seduce a woman from one gallant in favor of another, a girl timorous and afraid of being caught in an intrigue. All these love-scenes, the girls execute in character-dances, and with no despicable expression, if they are good proficient in their art; for then their gestures, air, and steps are marking and well adapted. In some of their dances, even in public, modesty is not extremely respected, in the motions of their limbs, the quivering their hips, and other lascivious attitudes into which they throw themselves; without exposing any nudity, being richly dressed and bedecked with jewels in their manner. But in private parties, to which they are called, as in gardens, they give themselves a greater loose, and have dances in reserve; in which, though still without

without any grossness in point of discovering their bodies, they are mistresses of such motions, and lewdness of looks and postures, as are perhaps more provoking. In short, there is no allurements they omit, and rarely fail of their end; some of them amassing great wealth by this means. In the neighborhood of Goa, for example, on a part of the continent bordering on the district of that island, the dancing-girls founded a village, after being driven from Goa, by the zeal of the archbishop, where they reside in a kind of body-corporate, and where the noblemen and chief inhabitants make parties of pleasure; for it is not every one's purse can afford the expence of them. Here many of these women acquire considerable fortunes by this scandalous traffic, and throw it into a common stock, for the carrying on literally trade, being concerned in shipping and the most profitable voyages, for which they have regular brokers and factors. Or at least it was so, till Goa declined so greatly within these few years it has done, from its former splendor.

NOTWITHSTANDING numberless stories of their rapaciousness, and perfidies to their gallants, there is one told of a dancing-girl, that proves there may be, even in that class, an exception to their general want of sentiments. A Portuguese vice-admiral, whose name, if my memory does not fail me, was Don Antonio de Sylva Figueroa, having lavished a great part of his fortune, among other extravagances, on a celebrated Gentoo dancing-girl, by whom he had a son, a circumstance not very common in a commerce with those creatures, saw himself reduced to a condition much beneath his rank and birth. In this state he was, when, on receiving an order from the viceroy to equip a squadron for sea, he found himself utterly unable to furnish the requisite advances to which the duty  
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of his post obliged him. This naturally made him uneasy and melancholy, which being observed by his mistress, who with some difficulty wrung the cause of it from him, she left him abruptly, and in a manner, that made him conclude she was, in the stile of that sort of women, going to add her desertion to that of fortune, and which would not have been the least of his afflictions: but he was soon surprized at her return, with a casket of jewels and gold to the amount of near three thousand pounds, being more than he wanted, and which she with a very good grace obliged him to take, as a mark of her affection. This piece of generosity, for its being so uncommon made the more noise, and reaching the ears of the late king John of Portugal, it affected him so, that by the next ships he sent out letters of legitimation to the admiral's son by that dancer. I am here aware, that a story similar to this in most of its circumstances, is said to have happened in England, from an opera-singer to a late Duke; which however, not destroying the credit of this, only serves to shew, that if vices are the growth of all climates, so are virtues too; though the instances are rarer, and surely rarest among those of that character.

THE dress of these women, which is various according to the different provinces, is in all however the most gorgeous and alluring they can imagine. They are generally loaded with jewels, strictly speaking from head to toe, since even on their toes they wear rings. Their necks are adorned with carcanets, their arms with bracelets, and their ankles with chains of gold and silver, often enriched with precious stones. They also wear nose-jewels, that at first have an odd appearance, but to which the eye is soon reconciled. Yet they, as well as other women in that country, have a peculiar way of managing and preserving their breasts,



breasts, which at the same time makes no inconsiderable part of their finery : for they inclose them in a pair of hollow cups or cases, exactly fitted to them, made of a very light wood, linked together, and buckled at the back. These at once confine the breasts so, as that they cannot grow to any disgustfully exuberant size ; though from their smoothness and pliancy, they play so freely with every motion of the body, that they do not crush the exquisitely tender texture of the flesh in that part, like the stiff whalebone stays in use among Europeans. Then the outside of them is spread with a thin gold, or silver gilt plate, also set with gems according to their ability, which compose the richest part of their dress, from the display favored by their swelling orbicular form ; but they are easily laid aside, and resumed at pleasure.

MANY of them, especially those who are in commerce with the Moguls and Moors, use the embellishment aimed at of old throughout the greatest part of the East, of forming a black circle round their eye-borders, by drawing a bodkin between them, with their eyelids shut, that both sides may receive the tint of the stibium or powder of antimony, that sticks to the bodkin. The powder is called by them *surma* ; which they pretend refreshes and cools the eye, besides exciting its lustre, by the ambient blackness. It is not easy for Europeans unaccustomed to it, to discern at first that grace the Orientalists think it adds to them ; though they presently acknowledge it has at least as good an effect as patches, which appeared so strange to some Mallabar merchants, that on seeing the face of Mrs. King, the chief of Anjengo's lady, stuck with them, they consoled very seriously with Mr. King on his wife's distemper, but hoped those breakings-out would soon wear off. Thus arbitrary is  
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the opinion of points of dress in different, and often in the same countries.

ANOTHER occasional ornament the dancing-girls put on, particularly on resorting to their gallants: this is a necklace of many and loose turns, composed of flowers strung together, which they call mogrees, something resembling Spanish double jessamy, but of a much stronger and more agreeable fragrant odor, and far preferable to any perfumes, delighting at once the sight and smell.

FOR the rest, their cloaths are much in the same fashion as the other women of that country. Instead of petticoats they wear what they call a lungee, which is simply a long piece of silk, or cotton-stuff, that, without any trouble to make up, serves them just as it comes from the loom, to gird round their loins, and descends to about mid-leg; so that the upper part clipping close, marks with great justness the roundness, and swell about the middle, which tapering away to the legs, gives that loose flow, to the lower part of the lungee, of which the staturaries are so fond for expressing the garb or drapery of a nymph, whilst the jewels and chains with which their other where naked legs are adorned, have somewhat the air of buskins. From the girdle upwards to the neck they have no covering, but one of the ends of the lungee purposely left untucked-in, that is flung carelessly over their shoulders, and a very small jacket, so cut, as to leave room for the breast-cases before-mentioned, and ties in a small knot beforehand just above the girdle. On their head they wear nothing but jewels or flowers, and their long black hair is generally braided.

I HAVE before observed, that the younger ones receive a regular training from the elder and superannuated, under whom they study in form all the art of pleasing, which they understand by tradition and personal experience too well, not to know how

to pass it for nature, in the imitation and refinement of which, without suffering it to be seen, their art specifically consists. Besides, they have nothing of that nauseous boldness which characterises the European prostitutes, their style of seduction being all softness and gentleness: their caresses are not only well-managed, but well-timed, with strict regard to keep measures in the cloying minutes of satiety.

I HAVE dwelt the more particularly on this article of Asiatic luxury, as it enters for so much into all the entertainments publick or private, of the personages in those parts.

THE dress of the Moors themselves is extremely becoming; having, like the greatest part of the Asiatics, adopted that purely and originally Indian manner of wearing turbants, of fine muslin, the circumvolutions of which form a covering to the head at once light, and cool, from the air easily penetrating the folds of it; at the same time that they defend it from the rays of the sun, the heat of which acting in a straight line, as cold likewise does, is rebated by the obliquities of the wreathing, which admits of an infinite variety in the manner of making up; insomuch that many tribes, professions, and even ranks in life, are distinguished by it.

THE Turks undoubtedly took it from the Arabs and Persians, who by certain tradition from the Indians, and that not until modernly, as appears by the descriptions of those people by the antients. But that the Indian Aborigines never changed fashion, or any other in their garb, appears clearly from what Quintus Curtius says of them on that head, and which holds good to this day. *Corpora usque pedes carbaso velant: Soleis pedes, capita linteis vinciunt. Lapilli ex auribus pendent; brachios quoque et lacertos auro colunt, quibus inter populares aut nobilitas*

*nobilitas aut opes eminent, &c.* “ They cloath their  
 “ bodies with a garment that falls as low as their  
 “ feet: they bind their feet with sandals, their  
 “ heads with linnen. They hang their ears with  
 “ jewels, and deck their arms and limbs with  
 “ gold, such of them especially as are eminent for  
 “ birth and riches.” This passage I have not quoted  
 out of affectation; but to shew how tenacious the  
 Indians are of their old customs, as the above de-  
 scription exactly answers to their present dress,  
 which has admitted of little or no variation. The  
 Tartar conquerors in a great part conformed to it,  
 as in many other particulars they found established  
 in India, in like manner as their Country-men used  
 in China a policy, that did not a little contribute  
 to quiet their conquests. Another point of finery  
 they have, which is their girdles or cummerbands on  
 the outside of their long vest or cabay, generally  
 richly embroidered, with the two ends depending  
 before, bordered with gold or silver tissue inter-  
 woven. In these they stick, on the left-side, their  
 kittarrees, or daggers, the handles of which are  
 either curiously worked or set with precious stones.  
 The blade is short, broad, and converging to a  
 point, nearly in the shape of what the ancients call  
*Lingula*, from its resemblance to a tongue. “ *Gla-*  
 “ *diolus oblongus in speciem lingue factus.*” AUL.  
 GELL. Their scimetars are also hung carelessly be-  
 fore them, with the same curiosity in the work-  
 manship of their handles. Instead however of  
 sandals on their feet, they wear embroidered slip-  
 pers, or papooshes, which they take off within-  
 doors, or leave at the feet of the sophas when on  
 a visit. Even the Europeans must, on any audi-  
 ence at the Durbar of Surat, before they are ad-  
 mitted to sit in the Divan before the governor,  
 submit to pull off their shoes; which is not quite

unreasonable, as the floor is commonly spread with the richest carpets.

THE Moors are also much addicted to smoaking; and the great ones among them all affect the Persian luxury in that article of cullioons, which are made like decanters of transparent glass, with enamel flowers in their proper colors, adherent to the bottom of them. These are full of water, and plugged up with a machine, that at once holds the tobacco artfully caked and lighted, and the insertion of a leathern pipe wired round, of two or three yards length, pliant and coilable like a snake, by which name it is known among the English. Through this pipe they suck in the smoak, so managed as to receive a coolness, and mildness, by passing first through the water, which it causes to gurgle, so as to form a not unpleasing noise. The poorer sort use only either a coconut shell, prepared in the same manner for smoaking through the water, which is vulgarly, from the noise it thus makes, called a hubble-bubble, or the tobacco-leaf simply rolled up, in about a finger's length, which they call a buncus, and is, I fancy, of the same make, as what the West Indians term a segar, and of this the Gentoos chiefly make use.

THE Moors also give strongly into the folly of judicial astrology; which not they alone; but the Orientalists in general, including the Chinese, I suspect to have borrowed from the Indian Bramins, who in India at least are generally the almanack-makers, and constantly mark in their kalendars, what they call their good and bad days, in the observation of which they are invincibly superstitious. Nor is it impossible, that among the many points of religion, that even in the earlier ages, spread from the East westward, and especially through Egypt after the return of Osyris, who in his military expedition had penetrated into India,

that

that of the distinction of days into auspicious and inauspicious, "*Dies atri, fasti, nefasti*," might reach even the Romans, who are known to have been so scrupulous on that head. As to the Gentoo-Indians, they are to this day so infatuated with this notion, that their merchants will not let a ship sail, or care to strike a bargain, or, in short, undertake any business of importance, on those days that are set down for unlucky ones.

It is also in respect of a Gentoo custom among the head Rajahs of India, that the Mogul emperor keeps his anniversary feast of being publicly weighed; a solemnity which answers somewhat to our keeping of birth-days.

As to the manners of the Moors and Moguls, they are nearly the same as of the rest of the southern Asiatics, being greatly degenerated from the hardiness and martial spirit of the northern Tartars; as well from the relaxing softness of the climate, as from their sliding into the Indian voluptuousness and effeminacy. They are, however, from their childhood, tutored and trained up to great gravity and circumspection in public, and especially to curb any passions from breaking out into outward emotions of heat or anger, which they look on as the highest indecency. It is perhaps from this early habit of restraint and dissimulation, that their resentments, which might otherwise evaporate and pass off in menaces or hard words, rankles inwardly in their bosom, till it breaks out, as they see their time and occasion, into more sanguinary effects, and more fatal vindictiveness. Thence the frequent plots, ambushes, circumventions, perfidies, and deep-laid schemes of the great men among them, to destroy one another. Their school-education, which is rarely more or other than learning to read the Alcoran, and to write Arabic or Persian, is however supplemented by



their introduction into all companies, and scenes of public business, in their tenderest youth, where their fathers carry them, not without a due preparation and instruction of how they are to deport themselves; and by this means, under their watchful eye and controul, enter them early into that great university, the world. The Gentoo merchants use the same method with their children, initiating them, with the first dawn of their reason, into all the mysteries of their trade and contracts; insomuch, that it is not uncommon to see boys of ten or twelve years of age, so acute and expert, that it would not be easy to over-reach them in a bargain. In truth, their docility, sedateness, and awful regard for their parents are surprising, considering the extreme fondness of these for their children, which they temper so judiciously, as not to spoil them; their whole study being to make them consider their parents as the best and tenderest friends they can have in the world; which point once carried, the rest may be imagined to follow in course.

THE Moors are also fond of having Abyssinian slaves, known in India by the name of Hoblhee Coffrees. These mostly come from a certain province subject to the Negus of Ethiopia, called Innariah, to the south of his other dominions, and bordering upon what is commonly called Negroeland, in the heart of Africa, from whence they are selected, and a great traffick made of them, over all the Mogolistan and Persia: but it is chiefly from the ports of Arabia and the Red Sea, that they are brought. Nothing can be imagined more smooth or glossy, and perfectly black than their skin, in which they far surpass the negroes on the coast of Guinea, and, generally speaking, have not any thing of their thick lips, though otherwise as woolly haired as they. This species of slaves is, however,



however, highly valued for their courage, fidelity, and shrewdness; in which they so far excel, as often to rise to posts of great trust and honor, and are made governors of places; when they take the title of Siddees. Such was Siddee Massafoud, a great favorer of the English, when he commanded some years ago in Rogipore, a strong place on the coast of Deckan, near Bombay, till he was dispossessed by the superior force of the Morattoes; upon which he repaired to Bombay, and afterwards to Surat, where he was again put into command. Nor is this transition from servitude to power so violent as may at first be thought; since all the officers and instruments of the despotic courts of Asia are involved under the general title of slaves, of which they are even voluntarily proud, Shah Nadir himself having worn that of Thamas Kouli Cawn, or Thamas the king's slave. To do the Orientalists justice, in general they treat their slaves with great humanity, and bind them to faithful and even affectionate service, by their tenderness and next to parental care of them. Thus the Turk and Moorish merchants breed them up to such trust-worthiness, as to employ them as their factors and supercargoes, and suffer them not only to amass fortunes to themselves, but to bequeath them to their children, which is only matter of curtesy. The chief distinction between slaves of this sort and freemen is, that the former are not allowed to let their beards grow, which is considered as the mark of liberty, as the shaving it is held the badge of slavery; and in this point the Arabs are punctiliously exact.

As to the diet of the Moors, it is far from being despicable. Rice stewed dry they use as bread, and look on it as more wholesome, light, cooling, and natural to the climate. The insipidity of it is sufficiently corrected by the sauces with which they ac-

company it, and are made of fish, flesh, or fowl, generally cut or stewed so, as not to need the knife when served in, whilst the great point of them is to be high-seasoned and savory. They rarely have meat come to table in joints, and yet are very fond of a dish where the lamb or kid is roasted whole, and stuffed with raisins and pistachionuts, which then serve in lieu of bread to it. They have likewise almost as many names for their dishes as the European cookery; but the three most common ones all over India is, currees, kitcharee, and pilow. The currees are infinitely various, being a sort of fricacees, to eat with rice, made of any animals or vegetables; these last being chiefly used by the Bramins, who never eat what has had life in it; but the reigning ingredients are the pulp of the coconut for thickening, and turmeric for turning the sauce yellow, besides spices to heighten it. Kitcharee is only rice stewed, with a certain pulse they call Dhall, which they reckon very wholesome and nourishing, and is generally eat with salt-fish, butter, and pickles of various sorts, to which they give the general name of Achar. The pilow is too well known to need particularising, only it may be observed, that the addition of the bacon is an European improvement; but which, if the Moors do not admit, they supplement it with the highest spices; and the great ones, in their entertainments, make it a most costly regale, by the addition of ambergrease. I have been credibly informed, that at Fort St. George, many years ago, one dish alone was charged to the company at considerably above two hundred pounds sterling, at a treat given to a Mogul Nabob, when one Mr. Hyde was steward; a charge to which the company did not acquiesce, until it was fairly verified by examination. So much however is certainly true, that most of the Europeans soon reconcile them-

themselves to the country-diet, and many at length prefer it to their own, even in point of taste or relish, independent of its being undoubtedly more wholesome, and more adapted to the climate, than the quantities of flesh to which we are used in these colder countries, where the heat being more concentrated facilitates the digestion. Few of the Moors abstain from wine or spirituous liquors; but are fonder of cordials and drams than of wine, which they do not think strong enough for them, no not even the arrac, unless treble-distilled: and, what is more unaccountable, they pretend that brandy, for example, better known on the Indian coast by the Portuguese name of Aguardiente, is cooling, when moderately taken in the very midst of any faintness, brought on by fatigue, or excessive heat of the day. They manage, however, with so much discretion and reserve in this article, that even those who have the character of the greatest drinkers among them, are never seen, in public, in the indecent disorder caused by that vice, which is not only fatal to their reputation, but sometimes precipitates their governors and great men into a dangerous abuse of their power, of which the following story may at once serve for an instance, and to characterise the genius of those Orientalists. The Nabob of the district of Ahmadavad, a prince of the Mogul's blood, not many years ago, in a drunken fit, had given an order to set fire to the great city of that name. His vizier, who saw that he was not in his senses, and yet durst not by a wise but hazardous disobedience shock the profound eastern jealousy of despotic authority, in this nice dilemma, applied for advice what to do to a Persian princess, wife to the Nabob, and not more remarkable for the exquisiteness of her beauty, than for that of her wit and good sense; being besides, not only more learned than the generality

of women in those countries, but skilled in the composition of Persian poetry, all which merit of the mind and person was not thrown away, since it had succeeded in entirely captivating and attaching her husband to her, who reposed himself principally upon her for the care of his government. Her answer upon this consultation was entirely conformable to the maxims of eastern government, and to the dictates of humanity. "The authority of the prince, said she, is too sacred a point, for either you or me to take upon us to revoke his order. He must then be literally obeyed. Find out in any corner of the town, any of the most detached little houses, from which there may be the least danger of the flames spreading. Set fire to them, first giving the owners time to escape, and paying them amply for the damage, and thus my husband's authority will be preserved, and any material mischief prevented." This counsel was immediately put into execution; and besides deserving to the authoress the thanks of her husband, when recovered from his intoxication, raised the reputation of that princess all over the Mogolistan.

THE equipages and carriages of the Moors consist chiefly in elephants, horses, palanqueens and hackrees.

THE riding on elephants is a point of state chiefly appropriated to the Mogul himself, to the princes of his blood, and the Nabobs of provinces, or the great officers of state: surely nothing can be fitter to strike an awe, or give the impressions of grandeur and pomp, than one of those enormous beasts gorgeously caparisoned, and bearing on its back a kind of canopied throne, in which the person who sits is so majestically conspicuous from such an eminence. These unweildy animals, however, are rather growing into disuse for war, since

since the more prevailing use of fire-arms, and the discovering that with all their docility, it is impossible to break and train them to the field, so as to be sure they will not often do more mischief to their own side, especially when exasperated by wounds, to which their mass makes them a mark hard to miss.

THE best horses in use come from Arabia, but chiefly from Persia, and make a considerable article of trade both by sea and land, and certainly no part of the world produces finer than either of those countries. The Moors also spare for no care or expence in their keeping, and especially for breaking them to the uses of war.

FOR as to the hunting or racing, though no strangers to those pleasures, they are so far considered by them as inferior points, as to have little or no share in their training.

As to the Palanqueens, they seem to me the utmost stretch of invention for humoring the constitutional indolence of those people, as surely a more lazy conveyance could not well be imagined. It consists of a bed and bedstead, with short feet, covered over head with an ample canopy; commonly of either velvet or cloth, fastened by the means of cross sticks, and silken or cotton cords to the arch of the stick or bamboo, from the ends of which arch proceed the poles which are all of one piece with it, and are carried by six, but most commonly four bearers, hired for that purpose at very low monthly wages. The person carried may very conveniently sit upright under the arch, being bolstered up in that posture, by one or two large pillows, which may occasionally serve to recline his whole length, or even sleep on them by the way. This arch of the bamboo, is prepared whilst the tree is young, by keeping it bent in such a manner, as to grow into the desired form, according to the perfection



perfection of which, and size, it bears a less or greater price. Some of these are made very expensive according to the decorations employed on them, such as the rich stuff of which this portable couch and its canopy are made, gold or silver tassels, and feet; which last are often carved and plated over to represent couchant lions, griffins, or other figures. The ends of the poles are also incased with the like metals, generally presenting a tyger's head: but this last is a badge of authority, granted only to a few of the greatest authority and distinction: in which point they are imitated by the English; for though there are few persons of any note or eminence, but what, in our settlements, keep palanqueens, the tygers heads are reserved for the governor, and second of the council. At Calcutta in Bengal some of our gentlemen, probably disgusted with the reproachfully indolent attitude incident to this method of carriage, invented a new one, by which means the bedstead was converted into a platform, that supported a common arm-chair well fixed on it, upon which they could sit more decently and full conveniently under the canopied arch. Others contrived, still preserving the bamboo-form a-top, and at the ends, so as to be carried on the shoulders a conveyance, in all other points resembling a sedan-chair. In Bombay and Surat during the rains, they cover them with a thatch, easily put off or on, made of the leaves of brab-trees, a species of wild palm, and lined with callico, forming a snug shelter impenetrable to the violentest rain, with windows that shut or open at pleasure. In Bengal and other places they defend them, but not so effectually, with a wax or oil-cloth thrown over them. The jealousy of the Moors has also suggested them a scheme of covering the palankeens, where their women are carried; which not in the  
least



least excluding the air, or sight from within, only hinders those without from seeing them; and this is effected by a various-colored silk-netting thrown loose over the whole machine. Of the same nature as palankeens, but of a different name, are what they call andolas, of which the couch is by the cross-sticks fastened to a streight instead of an arched bamboo, and consequently admit of no other posture than lying at length: these are much cheaper, and less esteemed than the palankeens. Doolies are much of the same make as the andolas; but made of the meanest materials, being only a coyr-cott slung also on a streight bamboo, and hardly ever used but to carry the poorer sick. The Moors too have affixed such an idea of state to palanqueens, that in most countries conquered by them over the Gentoos, they forbid these last the use of them, unless on the day of their marriage, for which institution they preserve so high a veneration, that it is proverbial with them to say, that a man on that day is as great as a king, and consequently grudge him no ensigns of royalty.

THE hackrees are a conveyance drawn by oxen, which would at first give one an idea of slowness, that they certainly do not deserve: for there are of them, especially those which are well trained and managed, that would maintain their rate, against horses in full trot, and the smallest are generally the fleetest. Of these the Gentoos chiefly make use, especially the banyans and merchants of Surat; and though I cannot say from knowledge that they are directly concerned in the castrating of those animals, which is performed by a cruelly painful operation, not by excision, but by the compression of a ligature, that intercepting the nourishment conveyed to those parts, causes them to rot off; yet it is plain, that with all their bigot veneration for that species of animals, they make no scruple of using them in  
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that service. Certainly it is more for obtaining it the most effectually, and for the sake of show, than out of tenderness for them, that they keep them as sleek, clean, and in good plight as possible, feeding them with balls made of the flower of gram, a kind of pease, and coarse sugar. So far they succeed, as to render the yoke of a pair of them far from being unsightly; the oxen of that country, especially of Guzarat and Cambay, being generally white, like those produced about Milan in Italy, and some of them as large at least as our Lincolnshire cattle; contrasting to which whiteness, they paint their horns with a shining black, and hang bells about their necks, in the same style, and for the same purpose, as those of our carriers horses. As to the conveyances themselves, they are open on three sides, covered a-top, and made to hold two people, sitting cross-legged in the Oriental manner, consequently flat and without raised seats, but with a pillow at the back to support or to recline on.

Here their jealousy has invented another method of concealing their women from sight, by means of folding blinds, or checks let fall round the open sides. These are commonly coarsely painted, and made of the fibres of the coconut, or brab-tree leaves, so disposed and loosely sown together, as to let in the air, and not hinder the sight of those within them. These checks also, with the difference of being large and lined with some coarse transparent stuffs, serve the natives for antiporta's to their apartments, so commodiously at once for coolness and privacy, that something of the like nature might not be a despicable improvement, even in Europe. Each hackrey has its driver, who sits on the shaft, equipped with a goad, and who takes care of the oxen, and is called the hackrey-wallah: but, in Bengal, I am told,  
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the most eminent of the Gentoo-merchants have come into the use of horses and chaises, in which they are so fond of a parade, they know they may safely display under the English government, and which for fear of a fleecing they durst not do, under that of the natives, as to have them richly ornamented, and even the reins garnished with silver or gilt studs.

UPON the whole, it must be allowed, that in most of those points, in which the luxuries of life consist, those Orientalists are little if at all inferior to the Europeans. If they have not their taste for statues, paintings, cabinets of medals, and such like articles of refined curiosity, they are not at least deficient in those of a sensuality, to which the warmth of the climate so strongly and so unhappily inclines them, being by this enervity and relaxation, generally speaking, rendered unsusceptible of those manly virtues, and that hardiness constitutional to those born under the colder and rougher zones. Thence most probably the indolent and slavish acquiescence of the Eastern nations in general, under that detestable form of government, despotism : where not the profusest fertility of the soil, nor the Elyzian temperature of the air in many parts, nor the choicest blessings of nature, can atone for the want of the greatest of them, Liberty. Here an Englishman cannot but, in the comparison, find fresh incentives, if that could be necessary, to the love of his country, in which the mildest laws, under the most admirably tempered constitution, secure to him his life, his property, and what is dearest of all, his freedom.

## C H A P. II.

*Of the state of the Roman Catholic religion in INDIA. Missions more political than religious. Qualifications of a Buon-Christian: quality of their concerts. Papists have borrowed several points of worship from the Orientalists, Mahometans and Heathens: points of resemblance: inquisition imitated from the Mahometans: inhumanity of the inquisition: precaution of the ENGLISH against PORTUGUESE priests: story of cardinal Tournon: lying miracles of the papists: ignorance of the Portuguese clergy: character of the jesuits: nunneries in India: false pretensions to merit in the Romish missions: reason of the English not attempting conversions in India.*

**T**HE numbers of Roman catholics living under the humane protection of our English government in India, where they experience all the tenderness of our truly christian spirit of toleration, furnish me with one reason for attempting to set the state of their religion in those countries in its true light. A stronger one yet occurs to me, in the expedience not only of undeceiving the public of the many false accounts imposed on it by the Roman missionaries; but of wiping off the reproach of want of zeal in the protestants, for not taking the pains that they do, in the conversion of infidels to the christian faith. To this task I shall dedicate the present chapter, which shall be followed by others, continuing some remarks I had occasion to make on the three capital divisions of worship in those parts, the Mahometan, Gentoo, and Parsee religions; in which I shall proceed, purely as a candid relator of what I could learn of them worth particularising; and not at all in the  
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stile of a dry theological discussion, for which I confess myself entirely unqualified.

To begin with the Roman-catholic religion; it is necessary to premise, that the Portuguese, who were the first modern discoverers of the navigation to India, were also the first planters of the christian faith; such as it is, after their mode, in the countries they conquered, or into which they penetrated. Charitably then granting that the pure piety of their kings, actuated their zeal for the propagation of their faith, without worldly respects, it cannot be denied, that the conduct of their missionaries was of a nature the farthest in the world from deserving that opinion of disinterestedness. Wherever the force of the Portuguese arms prevailed, as it might easily do over nations naturally unmilitary, and at that time so unacquainted with the use and noise of fire-arms, that they were as much conquered by the ears, as by the eyes, on which last the strangeness of the European garb had not also a little effect; wherever I say the Portuguese prevailed, or gained settlement, one of their first points was to stock the place with missionaries. These, while under the sanction of a military power that awed the natives, preached a religion so new, and so hard to be understood by the natives, and so ill understood by themselves who preached it, at the same time collaterally used it as an engine for forming and securing a party among their proselytes, for advancing the Portuguese interest and power in those countries: which is exactly the same game, as had been long played by the French in America, with the Indian nations, allies to or dependent on us; with whom their missionaries insinuated themselves, where those unfair preachers on our own grounds, acted the part rather of the panders of ambition, than of the propagators of religion.



IN the infancy of the Portuguese conquests, the awe they struck, the dazzling splendor of their successes, the partial preference and encouragement they shewed to all the Indian proselytes, all so far co-operated to favor conversions, that, especially on the coasts of India, they brought over if not considerable subjects, at least a number sufficient to boast of, yet nothing near so great as they represented. The truth is, that excepting a few of the best sort of the Gentoos, and those chiefly converts, less to the force of their arguments, than to certain temporal motives of advantage, of pique, or of resentment, their success chiefly lay among the lowest and refuse tribes of the Gentoos. A circumstance which alone, without any other reason of aversion, greatly impeded the progress of their mission among the higher tribes or casts, who could never be reconciled to that levelling spirit, which it is so much for the honor of the true religion to establish, by making all Christians as it were brothers. But the Bramins, and Nayrs, the nobles of the Malabar coast, could not without horror think of seeing the lowest casts, whom it was even a profanation to come within reach of their breath or touch, raised to any equality with them: whereas many of those miserable people, won by a condescension of the priests to talk familiarly with them, nay to court and bribe them to quit their native religion, in which they were so despised, and hardly treated as human creatures, listened to their arguments, and either were or pretended to be persuaded by them. And it is certainly out of these that the bulk of the new christians was formed; if the name of christian may, without profanation, be given to such as received no better instruction than they did, consisting chiefly in the ceremony of baptism, which they were never taught to understand, in the par-

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rotary of Ave-marys, and a few words learnt by rote, an Agnus Dei, or a copper crucifix hung about their necks, not forgetting a rosary, in which equipage, and with their special profession of believing implicitly whatever the priests believed, without knowing what, how much, or why they were to believe, they were currently pronounced *Buon-christianos*. Such is succinctly but truly the picture of by much the greatest part of the Indian converts, or of their descendants; for it is not to be supposed, but that there may be some, though a few, exceptions to this general description.

In the mean time, despicable as these proselytes mostly were, despicable I do not mean in quality of men with human souls, whose salvation is doubtless as precious as that of those of the highest rank, in the eye of the common father of all men, but on the account of their want of apparent conscientious motives, and of the evident insufficiency of instruction, both in point of time and manner to account for such a conversion; these proselytes, I say, became so many subjects, acquired to the state and church, the more to be depended on, as among the Gentoos there is no such thing as a regress ever admitted into their religion, after any act of renunciation, no nor even but very rarely when the separation has been incurred by some involuntary transgression of those capital points in which their religion consists, as shall be more fully shewn when I come to treat of it. Thus when once any of these Gentoos had embraced the christian religion, they generally stuck to it, since they could not go back to their own, though some afterwards turned Moors: but of this there were few examples. Though these converts were, as before observed, of the lowest tribes, Cooleys, Corumbees, Pooliahs, and even Poolichees, a cast hardly suffered to breathe the common air, being

driven into the forests and mountains out of the commerce of mankind, they did not fail of being useful to the Portuguese, who could deal by the way of arms, with the superior sort, and only wanted those of the lower for servants, mechanics, and soldiers, in which last capacity, under the name of Topasses, some did good service, and their descendants are to this day employed by our company in that quality. I have the more reason too to think, that the first converts were principally drawn out of those mean classes of the Gentoos, for that in Bombay I never could learn that any of the Christian-Indian families deduced their descent from Bramins, or Sinays, a kind of less strict Bramins, and second to them in rank. There might however easily be some without my knowing it; but I am sure they must be very few; and I was credibly informed, that even at Goa, the Portuguese metropolis, the same proportion was nearly kept. In the mean time the Portuguese of India are perfectly right to call their religion, THE FAITH, LA FEE, as being the only one, and it would be a pity there should be another like it on the face of the universe: for surely nothing can be imagined more repugnant to the true worship of God, in the beautiful simplicity of the true theology, nor more dishonorable to humanity. One would imagine, they had pillaged every other religion of every thing that was absurd, ridiculous, or detestable, to compose that monster of their own. I say nothing of what has been already made so clear, of their borrowing and adulterating, ofteneft for the worse, from the ancient heathens, who themselves very probably derived many of their rites and ceremonies from the East; but shall only mention a few particulars, wherein the Orientalists challenge several points of the Roman catholic worship as originally belonging to them,

them, and which perhaps a chronological discussion of the specific time wherein they were adopted into that church, would more manifestly clear up.

THE rosary, for example, is pretended to have been but an imitation introduced by some vagrant monks, of the Tezbush or Mahometan beads, on which those of that sect repeat their Bismillah, exactly in the same stile as the papists do their Pater-nosters, and Ave Marys; and even this custom comes originally from the Indian Gentoos.

THEIR mendicant friars seem but a copy, and a most wretched one, of their mendicant Joguys, whose abstinence from all animal food, contemplative life, austerities and macerations, far exceed whatever their famous ascetics ever so much attempted. From them too the Mahometans borrowed their institution of Faquirs, or holy beggars; so that both Europe and Asia owe all that pestiferable swarm of vermin, the monks of both those religions, to a perverted imitation of the Gentoo religion in that point.

As to the matter of idols, it is great impudence in the Roman-catholics, to reproach the Gentoos with theirs; or to imagine, that the frivolous distinction in words, between the actual worship of them, or of the using them only as helps to their memory in their devotion, can be understood, or not rejected by them, when they see these words contradicted by their actions, and the images in their churches manifestly applied to and invoked, as if they were living representatives. Can they then be blamed, if idols for idols, they prefer their own; especially too as they infinitely less nonsensically, instead of exhibiting them in ridiculous human forms, such as, for example, a woman gorgeously dressed like a curtezan, with a fruz bob-wig with a crown on it, and a large hoop-petticoat reaching down to her feet, tied round the neck in-

stead of the waist, and a little child in her arms, frame their images in a hieroglyphical style, of which the oddity and monstrosity are somewhat salved by the meaning couched under them, and by their disclaimer of attempting to represent the Divinity under any thing of human likeness, further than to convey instruction in their mythology? Thence the idol of a man with an elephant's head, of another with a number of hands, denotative of his various power, and holding some mysterious or emblematical thing in each. All which the Bramins do not want for the sense to oppose to the idols of the papists, than whom most certainly, such as they are at least in India, christianity cannot have greater enemies, since whatever deforms the divine simplicity of the gospel, and by evidently worldly-interested, absurd, and cruel adulterations, tends to render a religion ridiculous and detestable, must naturally weaken its force of persuasion, and even involve in its condemnation, though but for having the same name as christians, the purer reformed. Thus, for example, the Mahometans cannot, with respect to the protestants, overcome that inveterate prejudice they have conceived of their being God-eaters, as they emphatically and opprobriously nick-name the christians in general, and accordingly lump conclusions against them all. And as to the papists endeavoring to explain away the horror created by that idea, by the word *Mystery*, a word of which too they have a perfect conception, having one in the Arab language *Gheib* (*occult*) that answers to it, they treat it with the utmost scorn and contempt, as never allowing it to enter into any definition of the Supreme Being, concerning whom they esteem all mysterious expressions to be a prophanation of the sacred simplicity of his existence, and at the most, and hardly suffer them to be employed in accounting

accounting for some of the fabulous visions of their prophet, as contained in the Alcoran, which however the wiser and more learned part of the Mahometans are far from either respecting or believing.

YET candor forces me to confess, that even this scandalous conformity of the papists worship, in many points to the Gentoos, might lessen to the most ignorant and weak among them, the objection of too violent a transition; as they found in that church, so many superstitions of nearly the same nature as those to which they had been used, and from which some of them, as before remarked, had most probably been originally deduced.

It is also in justice to the papists, that I am induced to acquit them of the infamy of being the original inventors of that infernal tribunal, the Inquisition; for even that, it is not improbable they borrowed from Almamoun, one of the Arabian Caliphs, who first instituted a court of Inquisition, which however he afterwards on better advice annulled on the question which divided at that time the Mahometan sect; *whether the Alcoran was created or uncreated*: a point of about as much importance, as the famous one agitated with so much rancorous and senseless bigotry among the papists; *whether the Virgin Mary was conceived or not in original sin*? But be whose it will the invention, not imagination can reach that mixture of horror and ridicule, with which the Inquisition was set up and exercised at Goa, on the coast of Malabar, by way of aping that in Europe: only the victims of its cruelty in India, instead of the miserable Jews, of whom these could not be a sufficient number to glut its cruelty and avarice, and to furnish out a decent execution at their *Autos da Fé*, were mostly taken from out of the body of the Indian christians, who thereby stood an infinitely worse chance, than if their ancestors or they had con-

tinued in their paganism, and consequently unexposed, and unobnoxious to the pragmatism of its jurisdiction. For its familiars or emissaries, in want of prey, and having their eye especially on the converts, or their descendants, especially if any of them had got rich, and would afford a handsome confiscation to that holy tribunal of theirs, the *Santa casa*, made it their business to pry into all their actions and deportments: and as these people were generally of the lowest extraction among the Gentoos, and so extremely weak and ignorant, as to be incapable of being well-grounded in any religion, some of them might, no doubt, be tempted to retain a kind of connection with their former brethren and relations, and even occasionally assist at some of their ancient customary practices, and those most certainly not religious ones, as there was no return for them to that religion they had quitted, but which turned on the follies of divination, conjuring the sick, and the like. Yet this, or the suspicion of it, was treated as a relapse, and exposed those wretches who could only deserve pity, to the last rigors of the church-persecution: numbers of them were devoted to the flames, and piously consigned to eternal damnation, for acts of the greatest simplicity and folly, branded by the priest with the names of forcery and apostacy; though the first is even too ridiculous to deserve a confutation of its existence at all, and the other was impossible to them, if they had even the intention of it. However, as if this tyrannical cruelty had not of itself been execrable enough, it was accompanied with that usual compliment made at the delivering over those miserable creatures to the secular power, to be burnt; which is so solemn a mockery of God and man, when the Dominicans, in whose hands that jurisdiction is, with joint-hands, and pathetic fervor, entreat that no corporal



poral harm may be done to them; at the same that they well know the stage and the fagots are ready prepared for their execution, and that if they were not so, or that they were to be taken at their word, they would be the first to cry out that their church was in danger, and not improbably excite a rebellion to restore that very cruelty they affect to condemn, and of which themselves are the prime instigators and instruments. So consummately anti-christianized then may this tribunal be pronounced to be, from all the manifest motives and method of its procedure, that, if our blessed Savior himself was to return on earth, into any place under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, there is no doubt to be made, but that it would burn him for a heretic, if he ventured to preach his own pure and unsophisticated doctrine, or was to deny any of those points of theirs, on which they have founded the insolence of their tyranny, and the revenues of their avarice.

Nothing however gave the neighboring Gentoo princes, and Morattoes especially, so great an aversion for the Portuguese nation, as this report of their cruelty on a religious account; for themselves being all strictly and unreservedly observers of toleration in their dominions, they held such persecutions in the highest horror, which had not a little share in the Morattoes determination to invade them as they did, and strip them of their territories.

In the mean time, as the christian Indians were chiefly composed of such as had been converted by the Portuguese missionaries, and numbers of them falling under the English domination, the English, who had sufficient cause to be jealous of the plots and conspiracies of the priests of that nation against their interest, and yet were unwilling to deprive their Roman-catholic subjects, as for exam-

ple Bombay, of the fullest liberty in their own way of worship, fell on the salving expedient, of an indirect application to the court of Rome, for its sending missionaries of any other nation to take charge of the parishes under their jurisdiction, and by this means at once removed any suspicion of intolerance, and guarded against the danger from the seduction and arts of the Portuguese priests. These last were more agreeable to the christian Indians in general, especially as the Inquisition had no hold over those of them who were our subjects, and was therefore no longer an objection to the priests of that nation, whose gross ignorance suited better with theirs, and whose discipline was more relaxed in points of morality, and in all points that did not affect the power of the church.

Our settlements were supplied with French, German, or Italian missionaries, generally of more conduct and learning than those of the Portuguese; and who were always, according to their degrees of merit, treated with regard, and even familiar friendship, by the English gentlemen. Certain it is too, that they live with the greatest freedom and ease under our government, whose protection some of the vicars of the parishes do not even scruple to reclaim against any vexation or oppression from the superiors of their own church; as after admission, they are not to be removed or replaced without the consent of the English government. It has been said, but with what truth I do not pretend to warrant, not being sufficiently informed, that at Madras the English smarted for not having taken the same precaution against the French, their neighbors there, as they had done against the Portuguese; for that the French priests of a fine church, they were allowed even within the walls, had

had not a little contributed by their intelligence and connections with their countrymen at Pondicherry, to further their designs on that our capital settlement on the Coromandel coast.

AMONG many instances that might be brought to shew, that pious frauds run through the whole of that religion, in all the nations of it, though sometimes discountenanced by the honefter part of them, I shall just mention one story currently received in India. When cardinal Tournon, who was specially commissioned by the Pope to inspect, settle, and report to him the state of christianity in China, for which he could lay no stress on the manifold false accounts of the jesuits, and of the religious orders there at variance with them; he touched in his way on the coast of Coromandel, and at a particular district there, under the spiritual care of French priests, out of curiosity called for the register of baptisms, an extract of which had been printed at Paris, setting forth, that one of the fathers, as the missionaries are called, had converted and baptised so many thousands in one day, that he was forced to have two men to support his arms, tired with the ceremony of blessing and crossing such numbers. The register was produced, and there did not appear that on that, or any other day, more than one or two had received baptism. On that falsification and the priests excusing this fraud, on the old score of a pious intention, he duly reprimanded them, as he was in truth reckoned a man of probity. Yet he fared accordingly; for if the jesuits did not even poison him in China, as they were closely and perhaps falsely accused, at least they were the authors of such indignities and usage to him, as amounted to the same; since he sunk and died under them, a martyr to their jealousy and fears of his reporting nothing but what was truth of them.

BUT none were ever more industrious, and at the same time grosser artificers of such lying impositions and miracles than the Portuguese priests. Such, for example, as of the ship that came in one night from the Cape of Good Hope plump into the harbor of Goa, a distance of some thousands of miles, the devil holding the helm, and the Virgin Mary at the cond, in quality of quarter-master; in proof of which they shew you at Goa two monuments of stones, expressing the exact length of the ship's keel, with many of the like absurdities; which however are matter of inquisition to express any doubt of; though so ridiculous, as that the relation of them would only surfeit the reader, or raise his compassion for such credulity on one side, and his indignation at the coarseness of the impostures on the other. This last is no wonder, considering the profound ignorance and impudence of the Portuguese priests in general, even of those who come from Europe: and as to numbers admitted into their religious orders, in India itself, even a Roman-catholic author, Luillier, avers, that they were often taken out of the class of the common seamen and soldiers, without the least tincture of religion: to which I dare add, and with scarce the qualification of reading, and for this he notes especially the Augustines.

THE truth is, that even the prelates and dignitaries of the greatest eminence among them, are barely tinctured with the most superficial erudition. Their whole stock and sort of knowledge being justly enough manifested by their libraries, which consist of nothing but books of casuistry, legendary lives of saints, decretals with their commentaries; in short, of all the rubbish of scholastic divinity, fitter to turn one's stomach against, than one's heart to their religion.

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BUT what is more incredible; even the Portuguese jesuits, to which society in France, Italy and Germany no reproach could justly be made of want of learning, or of even polite literature, are in India involved in the same gross illiterateness as the rest of their clergy. In short, they are profoundly ignorant of every point but one, which is the advancement of their influence and wealth by all the powers of crafty insinuation, and interested industry, for which they are so noted in Europe. Known chiefly by the name of Paulists, they observe, to all outward appearance, a more reserved and decent conduct than the other religious orders; yet, to judge by their acquisitions, seem to have better understood all the arts of legacy-hunting, and of taking in the laity for donations. Instead of their three-cornered cap, in India they generally wear a hat with enormous broad brims, always flapped round, that might well serve them for an umbrella; under which they appear abroad, with a pharisaical demureness, and dejected eyes, by way of affecting humility, or rather from not caring to look the world in the face. In short, they are as much hated and courted as in some countries in Europe, and both out of a fear of their power and vindictiveness; a fear bred by weakness, and which would vanish on their being seen in their true light.

To complet the Indian churches mimicry of all the folly and wickedness of the European ones in that religion, they have not omitted those ecclesiastical seraglios or harems, convents of nuns, where numbers of ignorant silly girls are decoyed, and shut up, against the express will of God, so surely signified by the universal cry of Nature through all her animated works, and especially in that melting hot climate. But what gross conception the Portuguese themselves have of the chastity of these wretched recluses, may be gathered from

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what a bigot of that nation himself told me ; that no cucumbers, plantains (a round oblong fruit) or any thing in short of a suspicious form, was suffered to pass their turning-box, without being first cut in slices and disabled ; lest those spiritual spouses of the Divinity should make a very unspiritual use of them.

In several books of voyages, and especially those written by the priests of that church, you seldom fail of meeting with pathetic descants and encomiums on the ardent zeal of the missionaries, that for the sake of propagating the gospel quit their native countries, brave all the inconveniencies of travelling into foreign ones, and there expose themselves to all hardships, dangers, and even to martyrdom. All this is specious ; but generally speaking false ; notoriously so in India, where toleration is almost universally practised. If any of them have suffered in some parts, as they certainly have, the causes must be sought for not in religious but political provocation. Wherever they nestled, or could get footing, the first use they were sure to make of their power and influence among their proselytes, was to put the very government, to the mildness of which they owed their admission, into danger, both from foreign and domestic enemies, by their cabals and encroachments on the temporal power. For this it was that they were persecuted, and not martyred but punished, even to the utter extirpation out of Japan and Ethiopia of the religion they had introduced, and which thus suffered for their crimes and excesses, not without involving numbers of innocents in its fall : but in purely India, where they obtain settlements, even under the Moorish and Heathen princes, it is always their own fault, if they are not even treated with tenderness and respect. Every one who knows the condition of Monks in the European convents, where



where they are the slaves to their superiors, and to the duties of a sequestered life, having nothing but the pittance and allowance of the order, must also know, that many of them can hardly change it for a worse: whereas, when once arrived in India, and placed at the head of parishes, in those delicious and fertile countries, their life then becomes a very pleasing transition from their former one, in every point of ease, luxury, freedom, and spiritual power over their black flocks especially; whose ignorance and simplicity afford them all the advantages they could wish of gratifying their passions, of which as mere men they are susceptible, and as such commonly indulge, with the utmost safety, each being a kind of little pope in his district: so that it is a mere jest to attribute any great merit to the motives of their expatiation and apostolical labors. It is also not a new, though a perfectly just observation, that no missionaries hardly ever chuse any theatre for their missions, unless in those countries where there is money or good living to be procured. They take special care to steer clear of those destitute and barren places, where nothing but naked conversions are to be hoped. On such a choice too their merit at the court of Rome depends. If the success of their famous Xaverius had been among a poor obscure people, instead of the wealthy Japanese, he had probably never been canonized, or his name found a place in the Romish calendar.

As to the English, who came later than the Portuguese into India, they had surely reason enough from the despicable state in which in they saw the boasted conversions operated by that nation, and from the indisposition of the soil, to receive with any hopes of fruit, the seeds of the evangelical truth: they had reason enough, I say, to be discouraged from attempting, what in all moral probability

bability could promise no success, without such a power of miracles, as was not given to them, which they disdained to forge, and which nothing human can supplement with efficacy against the invincible opposition of the united powers of climate, character, and an inveterate prejudice, yet more confirmed by the example of such converts, as compose that contemptibly disfigured and corrupted christianity, of which the Roman-catholics have so loudly boasted the introduction into India.

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## C H A P. III.

*Of the MAHOMETAN religion. How introduced into INDOSTAN: relaxation of zeal for Mahomet: character of the KORAN. POPES, their resemblance to the KHALIPHS. Mahometans, their zeal for the unity and reverence of God. Gross conceptions fittest for the palate of the ARABS in the time of Mahomet.*

**T**HIS religion was undoubtedly introduced into Indostan, in the usual manner of it, by the sword; though in some countries, more to the eastward, as in the Moluccas, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, &c. it found its way chiefly by the insinuation of its doctrine, perfectly accommodated to the turn of thought, and sensuality of those people. It was however much more rigorously professed in the provinces that now constitute the Mogulistan, when they were under subjection to the Pattans, that Arab colony, which about four hundred years before Tamerlane had penetrated to Dehli, and there founded that empire, from which, after its continuance in a dynasty of thirty-one kings, they were at last radically

cally expelled by Babar-Shaw, a descendant from Tamerlane, who finished the conquest of India. I have before observed, that the Moors grew more relaxed under a series of princes originally indifferent to all religions : but it is also true, that even in Arabia itself, the country of that founder of this religion, that spirit of enthusiasm, which at once animated and empowered its professors in the infancy of it to spread their conquests is greatly declined, and their zeal for making proselytes almost grown obsolete. The Arabs seem to have given over all thought of extending their dominion either on a spiritual or temporal account, as if their strength and their fanatical frenzy had left them all at once.

As to Mahomet himself, there is a faint reverence kept up for his name ; which is, however, more matter of habit than of devotion : neither was their superstitious regard for him ever pushed that length which is commonly imagined. That furious zeal of which the first Saracen conquerors made such a parade, and so successfully availed themselves, had not so much a veneration for Mahomet for its object, as the unity of the Supreme Being ; in the invocation of which, if they joined the commemoration of his name, it was purely out of gratitude for his being the missionary of that unity, and for his destroying that idol-worship, to which Arabia had continued so long under bondage. For the rest they looked on him as a mere man, subject to all the failings and passions of one, and so far from addressing him as a saint, that in their moschs and orisons, they do not pray to him but for him, recommending him to the divine mercy : nor is there any such thing, as what has been vulgarly believed, of pilgrimages to his tomb : these being, in a religious sense, solely directed to what is called the Cahabah, or holy-house

house at Mecca ; which, having long been an idol-temple, was by Mahomet dedicated to the unity of God, and wherein he retained, in complaisance to the idolaters, the famous black-stone, which had been worshipped by them as representing Ak-bar their *greatest* god. The prophet's tomb is at Medina, visited by the Mahometans, purely out of curiosity and reverence to his memory ; but the Indian Moors frequently return without ever seeing it at all, though it is so near Mecca.

If some of their bigots were weak enough to consider the Koran as an inspired book, by much the greater number of the Mahometans, giving it all the praise they think due to it for its containing their favorite doctrine of the unity, at the same time insist, that in other respects it is no more than a common performance of which many other Arabians might have been capable, either in point of matter or language. The famous Motazales was the first that more openly broached this opinion, and was followed in it not only by great numbers of the Mahometans, but by several of the Khaliphs themselves of the race of Mahomet, who even persecuted to death many who declared for the divine and uncreated essence of that book. A book than which surely never any thing appeared with more evident marks of imposture, full as it is of inconsistencies, incoherencies, and pitifully absurd fictions ; so manifestly written from day to day, according to occurrences, that some of the chapters came out expressly and adaptedly to the various circumstances of Mahomet's interest or passions. Sometimes, in order to regulate the distribution of the plunder ; at others to quiet the scandal he gave, either by taking another man's wife away from him, and that man, even his adopted son, or by his commerce with his Egyptian slave Mary : not but that there are here and there scattered

scattered through it some excellent passages and sentences of morality, set off with the pomp of figure and metaphors, and with the usual Asiatic swell. Yet most of them are mere common-place, and such as may be supposed to have been penned for him, as he could neither read or write himself, by his co-adjutors a Jewish Rabbi, and Sergius the Nestorian monk, known among the Arabs by the name of Baheerah. Upon the least reflection on them then every thing that is worth notice in that extraordinary book shrinks to little more than nothing. Even the greatest zealots for it esteem the 112th chapter equal in value to a third part of the whole Koran, though containing no more than the following few words, “ \* *Say God is one God : the eternal God : he begetteth not ; neither is he begotten, and there is not any one like unto him.* ”

HAVING in the preceding chapter mentioned certain apparent points of imitation of the Orientalists, in the innovators, or rather defacers of the christian system, in favor of that stupendous fabric of church-power they have raised on its ruins ; there appeared to me another point of designed conformity, or at least of accidental co-incidence, doubtless too obvious to have escaped others ; though their having taken notice of it may easily escape me.

It is well known that after Mahomet's death, the succession to his power in spirituals and temporals devolved to the Khaliphs ; and though the popes were of a more ancient institution, they had not risen to that summit of power and dominion, which they afterwards did, until some centuries after the establishment in form of the Mahometan religion, with the princes of which some of them

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\* Sale's Koran.

kept a correspondence; whilst all of them seem to have copied, and improved on the model of the government of the Khaliphs, at least if the following striking points of resembling may be allowed to warrant such a conjecture.

THE title taken by the successors to that pretended prophet was that of Khaliph, or vice-gerent of Mahomet: the popes assumed the modest one of vice-gerent of Jesus Christ. Nor were the Mahometans ever fonder of their tenet of the unity of the god-head in heaven, than the papists of asserting the unity of the pope's vice-god-head on earth.

THE Khaliphs, who were originally stiled *commanders of the faithful* in a temporal sense, as being generalissimos of the mussulmen, even on their decline from that power, still retained it in a spiritual one, asserting a supreme jurisdiction and the right of disposing of, and of conferring the investiture of kingdoms and dominions that did not belong to them, on princes of their belief. Have not the popes, in that identical quality of spiritual *commanders of the faithful*, arrogated to themselves the same prerogative?

THE Khaliphs had a peculiar ecclesiastical state or district, subjected at once to their spiritual and temporal authority, and of which the town where they kept their court was considered as the metropolis and see of their religion: so had and still have the popes.

THIS parallel, if needful, might yet be pushed further, to shew that the Romish church, amidst all its insolence and presumption, was mean enough to copy the very originals it affected to despise and condemn; and for want of the talent of invention, was forced to submit even to the heathens and Mahometans for all its principal points of ambition and avarice. Nor were the papists entirely to blame for this recourse of theirs to the enemy,



enemy, sure as they were to find nothing of that sort to favor their purposes in the scriptures; which it was yet more sacrilegious in them, supplementally to force into their services, by torturing texts, into saying whatever they pleased. Thus, however, they at length succeeded in composing that strange phantom, or rag-doll of their church-authority, which they set up as the queen of nations, and which they never could have compassed, but through the profound ignorance, and its concomitant superstition in which the laity was then immersed, and liable to all the frauds and encroachments of the popes. Yet it seems to be some mitigation of the guilt of those Roman Khaliphs, to suppose, that they could not have conceived so transcendently impudent a scheme as what they carried into execution, if they had not been encouraged to it by some example. That this conformity might be only matter of purely chance, there is no being positive in the negative: but so much is certain, that the Khaliphs were greatly too haughty to borrow any institutions from the popes, on whose side the imitation, if at all, must have been.

ALL that fanaticism of the Mahometans however, being now pretty well subsided into a more sober common sense, and that not only in India, but even on the spot whence it originally sprung; they grow much less troublesome and tyrannical to the christians, and indeed to all sects who live peaceably under their government; though they are still as rigid as ever, in their not suffering any converts to be made out of their religion into another. Nor can I find, that the Roman missionaries are ever fond of aspiring to the crown of martyrdom in attempting it. Their chief quarry is the Genroos, and even towards them their apostolical zeal is greatly slackened; probably from the jest of it being grown more stale, from being more seen through

by their own laity; besides that, their conversions generally cost them money, which they could not lately so well afford.

THE Mahometans seem also to grow the more purely Unitarians, in proportion as their zeal for the mere ceremonial part of their discipline relaxes; nor will they so much as hear with patience any argument against that fundamental point of their religion. At the article of death they invoke no name but that of Allah, God, and generally die with it in their mouths, especially the Tatars; whose distance of country from the local spring-head of that religion, and whose original principles of pure Deism, render them more indifferent to any mention of Mahomet. In fact, most of his sectaries push their veneration for the Supreme Being so far, as not only never to mention God with the least irreverence; but they think it even blasphemous to praise or define a Being, whom they look on as so infinitely above all praise, definition or comprehension. They do not approve even of terming him Good, Righteous, Merciful, or the like; not only for their thinking such epithets just as superfluous, or even impertinent, as if one was emphatically to say of a man that he had a head, legs, arms, or any other members implied by the very name of man, and of whose having them no one could doubt; but as they conceive it is profaning the sacred Majesty of the name of God, to associate it with human attributes or conceptions, and that nothing fills the idea due to that Being so well as the name itself, a substantive singularly and forever above the company of an adjective.

As to their gross notions of a sensual paradise, the stress they lay upon their ablutions, and their other rites and ceremonies; it can hardly be thought, that so great a genius as Mahomet must have been, was not himself sensible of the absurdity

dity of his imposture in those points : but knowing, as he did, the reach and temper of his countrymen, he most probably adapted his religion to their swallow, and might never have passed it at all, if he had not so let it down to the level of their apprehension, and the coarseness of their palate. But as the particulars of it have been so fully described by numbers of authors, it became superfluous for me to enter into a further discussion of it, than might just serve to shew more expressly the state of it in India, so far as it fell under my observation there, or in my way to get the best accounts of it.

## C H A P. IV.

*Of the GENTOO religion. Paradox of their zeal and tolerancy, and how to be accounted for. Their veneration for Cows: story on that occasion of ECBAR-SHAH, great MOGUL, and a BRAMIN. Metempsychosis. Tenacious of their points of religion: story of LORDASS VITULDASS, a BANYAN, on that occasion. Nicety of civil distinctions: story thereon of a NAYR and THYVEE. Impracticability of recovering the cast when lost. Story of a Gentoo and his wife: fidelity of the Gentoo wives, to what owing. Suicide not so common now among the Gentoos as formerly: story of one who drowned himself. Account of the GYMNOSOPHISTS or GIOGHYS: story of one. Trials by ordeal on the MALABAR coast: story of an ENGLISH lady on that occasion. Distinction of the Gentoos into tribes or casts. Account of the Bramins: antiquity of their religion: conjectures on the PAPHIAN VENUS: a prayer of the Bramins: devotions to JAGGERNAUT. Conjecture on the pyramidal form of certain idols. An objection*

*objection to HERODOTUS attempted to be solved; as also another to PLUTARCH and JUSTIN. INDIANS probably initiated by the EGYPTIANS. Quotations in favor of the wisdom of the Indians: their polytheism resolveable into the unity of God.*

**B**ALDÆUS, and many others, have already given to the public such full accounts of the Gentoo mythology, that they have left me little or nothing to add to them. It is however true, that though the bottom of that religion is every where nearly the same, yet in various parts of that extensive country called Indostan, there are such various modes of opinions and practice built upon it, as would require many volumes to specify the differences. I shall only mention those particulars of it that struck me the most, in which some will perhaps appear either not to have been touched upon, or but transiently by others, as all objects do not affect alike.

NOTHING appeared more paradoxical to me, than the violent tenaciousness of the Gentoos in their religion and customs; and yet at the same time their perfect acquiescence, humanity, and toleration of others who differ from them in those points that are so sacred to them.

THEIR obstinacy, however, may be accounted for physically, from that weak slimzy texture of their bodies chiefly, and especially of the Bramins and Banyans, raised upon rice, vegetables, and water; which, joined to the relaxation from the heat of the climate, softens and effeminates them so, that they are not capable of a strong and manly exertion of their reason, to shake off the yoke of a prejudice once thoroughly imbibed. This constitutional indolence, or *vis inertiae*, running equally through the temporal and spiritual notions of the Asiatics in general, may also be one of the causes  
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of their abject passive resignation to slavery, and submission to that despotism which reigns over all the East.

As to that spirit of toleration in religion, for which the Gentoos are so singularly distinguished, it is doubtless owing to their fundamental tenet of it, of which the purport is; "that the diversity of modes of worship is apparently agreeable to the God of the universe: that all prayers put up to him from man, are all equally acceptable and sanctified to him, by the sincerity of the intention: that the true universal religion is no other than the religion of the heart; that the various outward forms of it are only accessaries indifferent in themselves, and merely accidents of time, place, education or birth; and that therefore all change of religion is at best but a dangerous and needless experiment, since, according to them, every honest man is sure to be saved in his own." Upon this principle, instead of persecuting and burning others for not being of it, or "of compelling them to enter," they will absolutely admit of no proselytes to theirs; and though whole nations have adopted their principal tenets, as the vulgar of the Chinese for example, those of the transmigration of souls, and their idol-worship imported into that country by Fohi, who was in all probability no other than a roving Gioghi; they neither admit of a community, or hold any correspondence with them, and would as soon sit down to eat, or intermarry with christians and Moors, as with their fellow-religionists in China. When any of their religion renounce it, even in the countries where they are masters, they charitably suppose it was through a conscientious persuasion, and never persecute them in any manner, unless by cutting off all communion with them, and expelling them irrecoverably out of the cast or tribe

in which they were born. This they think abundant punishment, and for any thing else content themselves with only pitying them: many of such were, in truth, literally speaking, objects of pity, being of the poorer sort, won over in times of famine, by the Romish priests, who for that purpose watched and relieved their necessities on condition of their conversion. Nor was it always in those times, but often wherever they could discover objects with whose indigence they could work, that they succeeded by these mercenary means: and this is so true, as for those proselytes to be proverbially known in India, by the appellation of *Christianos de Arroz*, or rice-christians; which is a further confirmation of what has been before said, on the head of those so much celebrated conversions.

BUT nothing more strongly exemplifies the tolerating spirit of the Gentoos, than their conduct with respect to those who differ from them in their treatment of cows, or of that species in general. Their superstitious veneration for these animals is too well known to insist on here; but by all the discourse I have had with Bramins on that head, it appeared very clearly to me, that the spirit of that law of theirs, which forbids the slaughter of them, is chiefly gratitude; from their arguing against the cruelty of such a retribution, as killing a creature so serviceable to mankind, both in agriculture, and in furnishing so innocent, and by them esteemed a good diet, as milk, butter and cheese, relatively to which last articles they always mention that species in the feminine gender. The law-giver, probably for a greater enforcement, added the fabulous fiction of the Cow Camdoga; which, however has had such an effect, that the Gentoos in general annex a sanctity to every thing that comes from that animal. They purify themselves with



with its urine; they burn its excrements into a greyish powder, with which they sprinkle their fore-heads, breasts and bellies; they also, when the dung is recent, make a compost of it, with which they smear their houses, pavements, and sides of them in the style of a lustration. In short, so excessive is their veneration for this animal, that there could hardly a Gentoo be found, that if under a forced option to kill father, mother, or children, or a cow, would not, with scarce a hesitation, but prefer sacrificing any or all of the former: and yet with all this religious horror for the slaying these creatures, they have no sort of aversion or ill-will to those who do. They scruple neither conversation, nor even friendship with those who use them for their food; and this purely from their enlarged notions and allowance for the difference of religions. In some countries indeed, especially on the Malabar coast, immediately under the domination of Gentoos, they do not suffer the openly killing of cows, though they will wink hard not to see it; and even this moderate restriction is not warranted by the tenor of their religion, at least to judge of it by the following story.

ECBAR-SHAH, one of the great Moguls, who was great-grandfather to Aurengzeb, and remarkable for that indifference to all religions, for which I have before accounted on the principles of Deism, had, it seems, a favorite Bramin, to whom he hardly refused any thing he could ask. This Bramin, imagining he could not make a more meritorious use of his influence with the Mogul, than to solicit a royal edict, forbidding the slaughter of cows in the province wherein he was born, requested and obtained it. A few days after, the Mogul was surprised at the Bramin appearing before him with a sorrowful petitioning face, and entreating him to revoke the edict which had been

been so graciously granted to his solicitations. Ecbar-shah gratified him in this second request; but was curious in course to know the cause of this change of mind. The Bramin satisfied him by imputing it to a dream, in matter of which the superstition of the Orientalists is too well known to need a commentary here. The dream he alledged was, that in his sleep, he had been beset by a number of those animals, furiously goring and butting at him; when on his expostulating with them on such an ungrateful return for his care of the preservation of their species, one of the herd, speaking for the rest, said as follows; "It is for  
" that very reason of thy mistaken zeal, that we  
" thus persecute and shall for ever persecute thee :  
" thou knowest, that at our dissolution we migrate  
" into more noble forms, and though thy religion  
" forbids the forwarding of that end, it does not  
" forbid thy suffering others to procure us that  
" advantage which is now by thy means retarded."

It is not however to this horned species alone that this principle of tenderness is confined. Their belief of the Metempsychosis makes them extend it to every animated creature, none being so minute, or of so low a class, but that they think it may be the receptacle of a human soul, consequently of that of their parents, relations or friends. Thence it is, that the difference or size which mechanically, one may say, affects the eye with contempt or regard, and lessens or augments compassion towards an animal in the act of destroying it, has no such effect on them. They cannot without horror think of dispossessing by violence any being of that precious gift of God life, and do not less respect it in the flea that bites them than in the elephant. But this is only to be understood of the Bramins, Banyans, and some other of their  
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stricter tribes, in whom this aversion to bloodshed does not suppose a great stomach to fighting; nor indeed do they value themselves upon courage; yet, like the Quakers, they know perfectly well how to esteem it in those who have it. That a country too so tempting to the conquest of it from its natural treasures and deliciousness, might not want for military defenders, which could not be expected from out of those peaceable tribes, the province of war was, according to the Gentoo system of religion, left to other divisions of casts, especially the Ketterees, out of which their Rajahs, kings, chiefs, and generals are taken, whose hereditary profession is that of arms. The Rashpoots and others are in the like manner warriors born. Such being the men of action and rule among the Gentoos by the constitution of their religion, it is the less wonder that they run into those injustices and violences which generally accompany the sword. This also solves that seeming paradox, of a religion breathing nothing but humanity, mildness and universal charity, having produced no better a government; and is one more proof, that no consideration, human or divine, is sufficient to soften the ferocity, or moderate the oppressions of any power that is purely a military one.

There is also another point in their religion, which appears as unaccountable as it is singular. Tenacious as they are of it, they are yet liable to lose irrecoverably their right of communion, not only for voluntary breaches or derogations from it, but for even involuntary ones, or for such as one would imagine extream force or necessary might justify. Certain it is, however, that numbers of them, though in other respects cowardly and afraid of death, would sooner incur it than violate any of those fundamental points, on which depends their right of communion; such, as for example, kill-

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ing a cow, or tasting of beef, drinking or eating but out of the same vessel with those of another religion, which is a defilement never to be repaired, and many others too tedious to enumerate. They will even, on such occasions, impose on themselves martyrdom, under no circumstance of violence, but of an accidental necessity, rather than forfeit what they call their cast. Thus, when Loldafs Vituldafs, a considerable Banyan merchant before-mentioned \*, was on his passage from Bombay to Surat in an English ship, he having made a provision of water, in vessels of his own under his own seal, such as might serve for that short run, being usually of no more than two or three days, it happened that, through retardment by calms and contrary winds, the same was expended, and he reduced to a condition of perishing with thirst, though there was plenty of water on board. But that being profane as to him, no entreaties could prevail on him to break his law, though his life was in such imminent danger : he felt all the torments so well known to be in thirst, and he would actually have sunk under it, if a favorable breeze springing up, had not brought him to Gundavee, just near Surat, but so faint as to have his soul, as they say, between his lips.

THIS delicacy of religion does not only subsist among the Gentoos, in respect to those of other religions, but between the different degrees and denominations of tribes of their own religion, who never eat, or intermarry, with one another under the same penalty. In some parts this nicety extends even to civil distinctions ; as on the coast of Malabar, where it is made capital for a Nayr, or noble of that country, to approach so near an in-

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\* See p. 161.

ferior cast, as to receive a wound that should draw blood from him. It is not many years since, that near Penany, the residence of the Samorine of Calicut, an extraordinary accident of this nature happened. A Nayar happened to have a sort of struggle with a Thyvee, or land-tiller, when, as in half jest, half earnest, they grappled each other, the Thyvee's sickle by chance wounded the Nayar, who no sooner saw his own blood, than he loosed his hold, and entreated the Thyvee to make off as soon as possible, and to keep the accident a secret for both their sakes. It happening however to take air, the Nayrs assembled upon it, and one of the elders getting up and exposing the case, they instantly fell on the poor Nayar, and hacking him to death with their sabres, served him as it is said of the porpoises, when one of their species is wounded, whom the rest, whilst he is bleeding, instantly tear to pieces: after which, and groaning over him, they proceeded, by way of revenge for this sacrifice, to which they had been thus compelled by their law, to the exterminating the whole tribe of the Thyvees, in the village of which the author of the mischief was inhabitant. Yet even in this they shewed, that in the midst of their wild superstition they could remember equity; as they were well informed how the thing had passed, care had been taken to pre-advise the Thyvees of what was intended, that they might timely save themselves, till the day particularly set for the massacre was over, after which it is not lawful for them to revive the procedure; so that when the storm was over, they might without danger return to their habitations. However, if a woman in that country lies with one of an inferior cast, they do not indeed put her to death, but as being *ipso facto* degraded, she is seized and sold for a slave.

As to the impracticability of a re-admission into the Gentoo-cast, when once, whether wilfully or involuntarily forfeited, I never heard of an exception being allowed; unless the following story may pass for one, which strongly but justly characterises the rigorousness of the Gentoos on that head.

ONE of them, a man of substance, residing on the banks of the Ganges, had a wife of great beauty, with whom he lived happy in the utmost reciprocal affection. One morning early, as she went, in the simplicity of their manner of life, to fill a water-vessel at the river, a Mogul nobleman chancing to pass by, was so struck with her at the first sight, that, yielding to the impetuosity of his passion, he spurred up his horse to her, seized her, and laying her a-crofs his saddle-bow, rode off with her, regardless of her cries, and over-powering her struggles. Whether she was alone or accompanied, no one it seems could inform her unfortunate spouse, who was the ravisher, that he might have implored justice against a violence, certainly not tolerated under the Mogul government; or of what road he had taken, that by his perquisitions he might find her out and reclaim her. In this dilemma, life being grown odious to the inconsolable husband, he quitted his habitation, and turned wandering Gioghi, with a double intention of humoring his melancholic turn to solitude, and of searching the whole country for her. But whilst he was thus employed, the Mogul nobleman had accomplished his brutal purpose, and though at first very cautious of allowing her the least liberty, for fear of a discovery, on having two children by her, grew relaxed in that point, even more than the Mahometans commonly are, thinking perhaps to gain her heart by that indulgence, customary among the Gentoos. After two years, her husband, now a Gioghi, came by chance to a garden-



den-door, at which she was standing, and begged alms of her. It is not said whether he knew her or not, but at the first sight, and sound of his voice, she knew him, though in a plight so fit to disguise him. Then it was, that in a rapture of joy she welcomed him, and related to him all her adventures, and the innocence of her heart in all she had suffered, concluding with her detestation of her present condition, and an offer of immediately making her escape, and returning to his bosom. To this the Gentoo made no other answer or objection, but to represent to her the inviolable rule of their religion in such a case, which did not admit of his receiving her again as his wife, or having any communication with her. However, after joining in the bewailment of the cruelty of their separation, and of the law that prohibited that reunion, for which they both ardently sighed, and after abundance of consultation, about what measures could be taken, it was agreed between them, that the husband should instantly repair to the great temple of Jaggernaut, near the sea-side, in the kingdom of Orixá, near the mouth of the Ganges, there to consult the high priest and his chief assistants, whether any thing could be done to restore her at least to her religion. Accordingly he went, and returned to her with such a countenance as prepared her for the worst. He then told her, that he came to bid her an eternal adieu, for that the taking off the excommunication she had innocently incurred, could not be effectuated but on such conditions, as he could neither expect, or advise her to comply with. They were these; that she should destroy the children she had by her ravisher, so as to leave no living monuments of her pollution by his profane embraces, then fly with her husband to the temple of Jaggernaut, and there have melted lead poured down her throat,

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by which means only she might be admitted to die in her cast if she could not live in it. The wife on hearing these terms accepted them, hard as they were, notwithstanding all the tenderest dissuasions on the man's part. Urged by the manifold incentives of zeal for her religion, love for her husband, and a hatred for her ravisher, that made her see in those children of hers nothing but his part in them, all conspiring to steel her heart against the motions of nature, she perpetrated the first part of the injunction, and found means to escape undiscovered with her husband, who durst not even renew with her the privilege of one, as her person still remained polluted, and unapproachable by him under the penalty of a mortal sin, and of falling into the same predicament in which she stood. Arrived at the temple, she presented herself with the utmost constancy and intrepidity to the priests, of whom she demanded the fulfilment of the rest of her sentence. After a sequestration of a few days and other preparatory ceremonies, she was led to the appointed place of execution in the area before the temple, where, in the presence of an innumerable concourse of people, she appeared without the least symptom of fear at the dreadful solemnity and apparatus of the fire, and instruments of her suffering. After a short prayer she was blind-folded, and extended on the ground, with her mouth open ready to receive her death in the melted lead. Instead of which, some cold water prepared for that purpose was poured into it, and she was bid to get up, and then assured, that the sincerity of her intention having been thus proved, was accepted by the Deity, and that she was thenceforward at liberty to live with her husband as before, being now re-instated in all her rights divine and social.

WHETHER this story be true or false, it is certain, that it contains nothing but what the law of the Gentoos renders probable; and as certain, that the article of it annexing an expulsion from their communion to any violation of the conjugal faith, more especially with those of another religion, or with any of an inferior tribe (for it seems the sin, though still a mortal one, is not so great if committed with those of their own cast) keeps an effectual check on the wives, and makes it so hard for the Europeans to avail themselves of that liberty they see the Gentoo women enjoy. I know that some indeed have boasted of their successes in gallantry among them; but I have strong reasons to think they are much rarer than has been said, or at least were chiefly among the very lowest tribes, who are not so scrupulous, and with whom money might prevail. In short, the wives of the principal Gentoos, with all their apparent freedom of shewing themselves, are, by their never going abroad unless accompanied, and by their superstition, as effectually defended from the approaches of strangers, as those of the Moors are by their walls, bars, lattice-windows, and impenetrable veils.

ANOTHER reason for their prodigious affection and veneration for their husbands, is their early marriage: A father is reckoned inhuman and careless of his childrens happiness, if he does not make the earliest provision for having them suitably matched: therefore they marry them at the age of three, four, or five years, sometimes younger, and often run into ruinous expences in the celebration of that ceremony: after which the parties, in the tenderness of that ductile age, are brought up until that of consummation, in the

*S. 10*  
constant inculcation to them of mutual dearneſs, as a ſacred point of religion. The women eſpecially retain ſuch ſtrong impreſſions of this doctrine, that notwithstanding the influence of a climate far from favorable to chaſtity, inſtances of infidelity are at leaſt as rare among them, as in any people of the world beſides. Thence too the readineſs of numbers of them to embrace that cruel practice of burning themſelves with their huſbands, or in due ſeaſon after his death. Some of them living under governments where that ſuperſtition was not ſuffered, have voluntarily gone to Gentoo countries barely to enjoy the liberty of that act. Others, after bringing up their children to a ſtate of maturity, which ſeems an allowable reaſon of diſpenſation with them, and many years after the death of their huſbands, have, as if they had endured life only till that duty to their children was fulfilled, paid that one to their deceased huſbands, of ſeeking to rejoin them, by burning themſelves with the uſual ceremony. Some indeed, who had not the courage either to undergo that fate, or the patience to brook the indignities and ſlights that fall upon thoſe who decline it, and which form a kind of compulſion to it, though they call it matter of choice, ſuch as cutting off their hair, which to them is the moſt intolerable of all pains, ſervile offices, and wearing a particular colored garment, of a dingy red, will, eſpecially if they meet with encouragement, turn Chriſtians, or Moors. It muſt not however be underſtood, that this practice of voluntary burning is very general. Many of the tribes, eſpecially of the lower ones, are totally exempted from it, and it is only with reſpect to the more conſiderable perſonages that it is ever uſed, and even among them,

them, the instances begin to be much rarer, and that point to be less insisted on \*.

THE examples of that cool philosophical suicide, for which the Indians are by the ancients so much celebrated, as being matter even of common custom among them, are grown extremely rare. I could not, whilst I was in India, hear of one that had resorted to that extremity, except a merchant of Surat, who, many years before my time, had ordered himself to be carried, fastened on a bed, the bottom of whose corner posts were provided with a weight to sink it, into the river Tappi, on men's shoulders, who had their cue to let him gently down into the stream, as soon as he had finished his own funeral harangue to a croud of people, among whom were his sons and relations, of which he acquitted himself with great composure and even eloquence. He had however no motive for this spontaneous departure out of life, but that sort of philosophy once so prevalent in those parts, and for which the Gymnosophist Calanus made him-

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\* Mr. Eyre, brother to that truly worthy and amiable gentleman who perished among the other unfortunate persons in the black-hole at Calcutta, as will be hereafter particularly mentioned, was chief at Patna some few years ago, when a Gentoo woman underwent this ceremony of sacrificing herself to the memory of her husband, who had been a man of some consideration, and the woman was personally known to Mr. Eyre. The place appointed for the ceremony was close to the walls of the English factory, and when the woman approached, Mr. Eyre advanced up to her, advised her to desist from her fatal purpose, and offered her protection in the factory; which she refused, and persisted in her design, alledging, that she had already undergone that ceremony four times, that this was the last, and then she should attain a state of eternal happiness. The ceremony was awfully performed, and she perished in the flames with the constancy of a christian martyr.

self be so much admired by Alexander and his whole army.

THESE Gymnosophists were undoubtedly not Bramins, as has been erroneously advanced by many authors; but of that sect of men now called Gioghys; which, like other human institutions, have been at length vitiated by abuses, hypocrisy, and the admission of corrupt members. Their original regulation turns upon a renunciation of the world, a hermitical or itinerant life, violent ascetics, and that stark-nakedness from whence they derived their Greek name. At present, indeed, when they occasionally travel into Christian or Moorish jurisdictions, they dispense with this last precept, and wear, out of deference to their customs, a scant rag that scarce covers their parts, to which their own opinions annex no idea of shame or turpitude. As to the self-martyrizing postures, and other cruelties they impose on themselves, they do not mean by these to insinuate, that any torments of the creature can be acceptable to its Creator, but purely for the sake of the merit they apprehend in the intenseness and constancy of their spiritual contemplation of the Deity; being such as enables them to master their attention so far, as to call it off from the feelings that pain their bodies, and to fix it unremoveably on the only idea they think can worthily fill their minds. It is also in the sense and character of contemplatists, absorbed in this single object, that they prove what is perhaps harder to attain to, their insensibility to pleasure. Thus some of them will sit on a pedestal, by the side of the tanks or ponds where the Gentoo women perform their ablutions, whom they suffer to salute with the utmost reverence and simplicity, the living Priapus they exhibit for that purpose, whilst their eyes roll frightfully in their heads; and no symptom or gesture of theirs betrays the least indication



indication of human feeling, sensual emotion, or attention to the sight or touch of these females, who imagine there is great prolific virtue in this strange act of adoration. These Gioghys also generally have that part bored, with a smooth soldered ring passed through it, as an attestation of the impracticability for them of incontinence. But though I am well persuaded, that vanity and spiritual pride enter for a great deal into all these their self-tortures, austerities and self-denials, yet it is hard to think that all of them are equally susceptible. There is also reason to believe, that some of this sect have made very valuable discoveries, especially in Botany, from the opportunities of their roving life, through wilds, forests, and among the mountains where they ofteneft shelter, being absolutely forbid to lie in houses, or under any built cover, unless occasionally the open porches of their pagodas. The Gentoos however, to whom the abuses of this profession are perfectly known, and to whom their impostures are grown stale enough to put them on their guard, retain the highest veneration and awe towards such of them as they have reason to think are sincere in the exercise of it: they pretend even to produce, in their excuse for this branch of their bigotry, some miracles recent within the memory of man. To this purpose, they relate an event, of which they will have it there are now living witnesses, and which may serve at least to expose their credulity, though one cannot help at the same time doing justice to their talent of invention. One of these Gioghys, as the story goes, came to a large inland town, in Ashmeer, and going directly to the governor of it, a Gento, presented to him a bill of exchange, drawn payable to the bearer by the god Ram, for 2000 rupees, or about 250 l. sterling; at which the governor protested

tested with a laugh at him as an impostor. The Gioghy then went round the town, and was every where received with the same kind of scoff, except by a rich oilman, who very devoutly accepted it, and paid the amount: upon which, returning him a blessing in behalf of the God, whose draught he had thus honored, the Gioghy left him and the town, but not without fulminating as he passed the gates, a curse of leprosy to continue twelve years upon all the inhabitants except the oilman and his family, which instantly took effect. And so popularly was this story propagated, that it was brought to Bombay some years ago by a Banyan, who declared, that he had himself seen a son of the deputy, or assistant governor of the town, who was a leper from that malediction, but the symptoms of whose distemper were greatly mitigated by his being then in the twelfth or expiring year of the term assigned. The Gentoos are not content with occasional fiction or forgery of miracles from time to time, but insist on the existence of a constant and standing one in their trials by ordeals, of melted lead or boiling oil, such as they are now actually in use on the Malabar-coast. So much however is certain, that these ordeals are not in the least managed by any priestcraft, unless it could be supposed combined with the whole governing laity, against the interest of justice, and their own, having been for ages practiced as the criterions of innocence, through the various provinces on that coast. I never saw one of these trials myself, but believe that numbers of eye-witnesses to them are now in England, who can better ascertain the nature and manner of them than I dare pretend to do. It has however been assured to me, that several of the English chiefs of settlements on that coast, have used their utmost care and precaution to detect whatever fraud might be in this method of trial;

trial; that they have caused the party that was to undergo it, not only to be locked up in their own guard-room, or prison, but seen the hand that was to be plunged into the boiling lead or oil, bound up with a handkerchief closely tied round the wrist, and sealed with their own seals, which remained unbroke till the instant of the public ceremony of it. Notwithstanding all which precaution, and every other that the most determined incredulity and suspicion of fraud could devise, they could never discover that there was any trick or juggle in it; to say nothing of the improbability of so many princes of different and discordant dominions, for so many ages, joining in a cheat of no sort of use but to screen obnoxious criminals, and to baffle that justice, by which alone any government can subsist. Some unable to deny the fact itself, have endeavored to account naturally for it, by averring, that neither water, oil, or lead, when boiling, can effect a hand dipped into it, so as to burn it. If this were true, the whole of this pretended miracle of the Gentoos would fall at once to the ground, and the miracle would be that it could ever pass for one. An English lady however could have contradicted this from her own experience: for at Tellicherry, where she then resided, and where scandal had not entirely respected her, happening to be present at one of these ordeal-trials, where an Indian culprit drew his hand unharmed out of a cauldron of melted lead, she said, she was sure it was all a jest, and that it could not burn; but on putting her finger in to prove it, screamed out with the pain. "That trial (said she then governor Adams humorously) I suppose, madam, was for your virtue."

THE ceremony is however performed with great solemnity. The party to be tried, on appeal to it for his innocence, whether on suspicion of murder,

theft, conjugal infidelity in the women, in short of any crime, or even in civil cases, on denying a debt, is brought in public, to the side of the fire, on which is set a cauldron or ladle full of boiling water or oil, but most commonly lead; the prince or magistrates of the country assisting. His hand is previously clean washed, and an ola, or leaf of the wild brab-tree, with the matter of the accusation written on it, and girt round his waist, when, on a solemn invocation of the Deity by a Bramin, the culprit plunges his hand in, scoops up the boiling fluid, and if he draws it out unhurt, is absolved; otherwise he receives the punishment prescribed by the laws for the crime on which the accusation lay. And so sacred and firmly believed in general on that coast is this method of-purgation, that I have been assured, that even some of the Indian Christians and Moors have voluntarily submitted their cause to its decision on their own personal experiment.

As the princes of those countries, where this custom stands at this day in full force, use no sort of reserve, or refuse any examination that might be required, certain it is, that on the least intimation from any person of authority here, to any of the English gentlemen on that coast, such an enquiry would be very readily set on foot, as would satisfactorily liquidate what truth or falsehood there is in this practice; and surely even the Royal Society has vouchsafed to take cognizance of points of not superior importance or curiosity to this. The issue must be, since the fact is incontestably true, either to discover a natural method of resisting fire, far more subtle than what is known to our European jugglers; or to prove, that Divine Providence, when solemnly appealed to, does not disdain its immediate interposition in favor of innocence, an act which, though surely not unworthy

thy of the goodness of God, the Romish priests in those parts, not denying the supernaturalness of the effect produced, attribute to the power and craft of the devil; with what propriety let any one judge.

THE distinction of the Gentoos into their tribes or casts, forms another considerable object of their religion, which has its conveniencies and inconveniencies. Priests, warriors, merchants, husbandmen, and in short all the divisions of mechanics and artificers known among them, are each classed in their respective tribes; and though all under the bond of the same religion, neither eat, drink, or intermarry with one another, so that a goldsmith for example, cannot marry his child to a druggist's. All must be born in the profession they exercise: no transition or mixture is allowed: by which contractedness of disposition great injustice is often done to talents and genius, to which no respect is had, or allowance made for their infinite diversity. Thus some are confined to make an indifferent figure in one sphere or way of life, who would have shined in another: yet such justly supposeable instances excepted, this distribution has in general the advantage of order on its side, and the power of the prejudice of education in favor of custom, diminishes and even annihilates the sense of the injury thereby done to a few. Most of the tribes too have each, under every government, a particular person who is reckoned the chief of it, and is in some measure accountable for the conduct of the individuals of it; which also makes it the easier to estimate, number, or assemble them respectively on any necessary occasion. But though one would imagine that most professions, and manual arts especially, thus for ages hereditarily transmitted, would proceed from father to son, to the utmost perfection, it does not appear that this consequence



quence follows in effect: for, by all tradition and accounts, they stick pretty near at the same point they were at many ages ago; whether emulation has been rather deadened than excited by this confinement to the vocation of birth; or whether, what is the most likely, the people of those soft climates want that solidity, application and curiosity, necessary to carry them beyond a certain pitch, to say nothing of the discouragement for ever existing under despotic government, from the precariousness of property.

THE Bramins or Butths, as they are often called from the idols which all have that name; if these did not take it from them, vindicate pre-eminence of rank and esteem from their appropriate functions in divine worship. There are some of them, however, often employed in purely civil matters without derogation to their character. They have a learned language peculiar to themselves called the Hanscrit, in which the Vedham, Shaster, and other of the books of their law are written. As to those who stick purely to the duties of their office, the simplicity of their lives answers to that of their diet, into which they admit of no animal food, and which one would think had its influence on their minds as well as bodies, being generally free from the violenter passions and vices, in which the cold one of avarice is certainly not included; for in this, those of them, at least, who enter into temporal affairs, vie with any other condition of men. With respect to their constitution they are generally healthy, though not strong bodied. Their senses of smell and taste are exquisite, which they doubtless owe to their abstinence from flesh. Thus flowers produce to them a much stronger odor than the same sort would to Europeans; and they are as nice in the taste of different waters, as  
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we are in that of wines, and make as great a point of luxury in the choice of them. It is also observed, that the wounds of those used to a vegetable diet, are much sooner and easier cured than those of such as eat flesh, from the greater grossness of humors bred in these last by that food. The Bramins are likewise said to possess many valuable secrets in natural philosophy, acquired by their studious and contemplative turn, and which if not brought to Europe, is not so much owing to any uncommunicativeness of theirs, as to the want of curiosity and inquisitiveness in the Europeans, who seldom travel to those parts in search of knowledge, and are too much engrossed by their pursuits of fortune, to give sufficient attention, or employ sufficient means to come at such discoveries.

UPON the whole, whoever will combine all the absurdities of their mythology, their incarnations of Vistnow, the exploits of the ape Singa, the wars of their god Ram, the virtues of their cow Camdoga, and the rest of their ridiculous fables, with that exquisite morality, practical and speculative, that may be collected from what they collaterally teach, must own, that the human mind is capable of uniting in it the greatest seeming incompatibilities.

YET it must be owned that their religion, all gross as it is, does not exclude the idea among them of the God of the Universe, as it evidently turns upon deities merely local, and proper to India, which even their own doctrines subordinates to a certain superior and more extensive power. For as to Brama, he is never understood by them, but as the supreme God, the Jupiter Indiges of specifically their country.

THAT their religion is one of the ancientest in the world there are many reasons to think. Nothing

thing of so remote an original being to be less suspected of borrowing from others, especially in a people who have ever made it a sacred point to follow their own peculiar institutions, without deigning to admit of any foreign admixture. It is then highly probable, that the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, which so particularly distinguished Pythagoras, was derived from them, with many other articles and modes of worship, and opinion, which from certain resemblances might be evestigated from the same spring-head. Thus, among many other conjectural instances, may be quoted the image of the Paphian Venus, for the form of which Tacitus could not account \*, not being in any thing resembling the human one, but orbicularly rising from a broad basis, and in the nature of a race-goal, tapering to a narrow convex a-top; which is exactly the figure of the idol in India, consecrated to such an office as that heathen deity was supposed to preside over, and to which, on the borders especially of the Ganges, the Gentoo virgins are brought to undergo a kind of superficial defloration, before they are delivered up to their husbands. At the first view indeed one would imagine that this Indian effigy was, especially from this application of it, meant for a kind of representation of a Phallus, or Ithyphallus; but besides that, the form is too imperfect and remote an imitation; besides that, the Indians make no scruple of expressing clearly the parts of generation in both sexes, joined together, in an image of them, they call Quivclinga, which they

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\* Simulacrum Deæ non effigie humana, continuis orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum, metæ modo, exurgens. Et ratio in obscuro.

TACIT. Hist. Lib. II.

Albæ Pyramidi haud dissimilem dixeris.

TYRIUS MAXIMUS.

wear about their persons, or hang about their necks, as an amulet; besides also, that they have pagodas appropriately dedicated to Priapus, under the name of Gopalsami; this pyramidal stone may be plainly traced to its original; that idol, which in the same but a larger form is worshipped by the Gentoos under the name of Jaggernaut, which, according to all accounts, and to captain Hamilton's especially, is no other than a pyramidal black stone, fabled to have fallen from heaven, or at least to have miraculously presented itself on that place, where stands his temple before-mentioned. Now, according to the best information I could obtain from the Gentoos, this stone, of which all the images in that form in India are esteemed but copies, is meant for the power presiding over universal generation, which they attribute to the genial heat and influence of the sun acting under subordination to it; and to whom the following formulary or prayer is addressed, and often repeated in a day by the Bramins especially, with their eyes towards the sun. "*Thou Power! which illuminates that resplendent Orb, deign also to illuminate my mind, so as that I may thereby be directed to walk in the way the most pleasing to thee.*" Now considering the dignity attached in the idea of the Gentoos to the generative power, it is no derogation to the supremacy attributed to Jaggernaut, manifested by their making his temple and image the head place of their worship, to infer that he is their god Bramin under that title, just as Jupiter had several names, according to his various functions, and equivalent to the Mythras or Venus Urania of the Persians, or simply the Venus of the heathens. That the Deity, however represented by specifically that image and under that name, was held to preside over the genial fire, is plainly proved, by the ceremonies with which

which at a certain time of the year they perform their worship to it, especially on the banks of the Ganges. For the Gentoo inhabitants there form domestic idols after that of Jaggernaut, to which they give its name, and which are niched in a conveyance that is to serve them for a triumphal car, all together decorated with gilding and tinsel. Formerly it used to be so with jewels and expensive finery, according to the circumstances of the owner, but of late they have much abated on that point. This machine is kept for some days in the best apartment of their house, during which time it is matter of devotion with them to exhibit all the obscene postures, and to act all manner of lasciviousness in sight, as it were, of the idol, and as the most acceptable mode of worship to that deity it represents. After which they carry it in its gilded car processionally to the Ganges, and throw all in together, as an acknowledgment to that river of its congenial fertilization with that of the sun. Their reason too for relaxing in their expence on this head was, their finding that the Christians and Moors, watching the places where they were committed to the stream, made a practice of diving for the jewels or valuables with which they used to be adorned, and by this means gained what to the Gentoos seemed a sacrilegious booty at their expence.

As to the cause of the Gentoos predilection of this pyramidal form, it seems lost in the remotest antiquity. But if I might be allowed to hazard a conjecture, it should be, that it was originally suggested to them by that pyramidal aspiration of flame, which is one of the most conspicuous properties of fire.

If the above is not sufficient to establish the conjecture of the Paphian effigy of Venus, being originally derivable from the form of this Indian deity,

deity, perhaps the following account may serve at least to corroborate it, and into which I enter purely, as I think it may throw some illustration on a dark point of antiquity, which has perplexed so many authors, and relatively to which some of the antients will probably appear to have been unjustly condemned.

THE learned and laborious Dr. Hyde has particularly taken Herodotus to task for saying, that \* Venus was the Persian Mythras, Myhir, or in plainer English the sun: but in this point not a little may be said to justify and reconcile him to historical truth.

As to the objection of the nominal difference of sexes, in Mithras and Venus, that is solved by the plain matter of fact of the Parsees not admitting any such distinction of genders, in those spiritual beings, which they esteemed as provincial super-intendants, or agents, and which the heathens dignified by the title of Gods.

THAT the Sun and Venus were by the Persians, considered as one and the same divinity appointed to preside over universal generation, may be inferred without much violence from many points of fact.

MYTHRAS the Sun, or Myhir, in the primitive Persian language, signified LOVE; and the Sun being deemed the genial inspirer of it, has that quality evidently in common with the Venus of the Heathens.

VENUS was imaged in that conic form, mentioned both by Tacitus, in his relation of the first

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\* Cur autem Herodotus addit eam (sc. Veneram Uranam) Persis Mythram plane nescio: nam cum eo nomine semper significatur SOL, quamnam erroris ansam arripuerit nescio. HYDE. De. Rel. Vet. Pers. Page 99.

Vespasian's visit to her temple in Paphos, and by Tyrius Maximus.

MYTHRAS, or the Sun, was also precisely imaged in the same form, that is to say, of a conic stone, in Cœlo-Syria, and among the \* Emisseni-ans, and from its shape took the name of the Round-God, or Agli-Baal, whence the emperor Heliogabalus, who had been a priest in the temple of it, derived his appellation, and in the sense of this Mythras being the same as Venus, he was doubtless no improper minister of that dissolute deity.

FROM this conformity of offices, attributes and form, it is no wonder that Mythras and Venus, called by the Assyrians Mylitta, or Mauledda, the parent of all things, might be deemed one and the same presiding Power, and as such reported by Herodotus. It is also in respect to the above conformity, that his cotemporary Artaxerxes Mne-mon, did not make quite so violent or strange an innovation, as Dr. Hyde seems to imagine it, in introducing the statue of Venus in an human form, being then nothing more than another mode of representing Mythras, or Myhir, of whom the adoration, never however more than reverential, and such as was used towards their great men, was before so thoroughly established. This construction too if received, though offered only as a conjecture for want of a better, would absolve Justin, and reconcile the difference between him and Plutarch; the former placing Aspasia, the concubine of Artaxerxes, at the head of the priestesses of the Sun; the latter of those of Venus. Both then, in this case, might be right.

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\* Solem sub forma faxi ab imo rotundi et conici apud Emissenos cultum fuisse quod et a cœlo delapsum fuisse jactabant Testatur Herodiannus.

HYDE, p. 115.



THE resemblance, however, above set forth of the image of the Paphian Venus, and of the Persian Mythras, to that of Jaggernaut in India, is entirely submitted to the reader, for his judging of the degree of probability of their being imitations of the latter: but I cannot omit another corroborative circumstance of the progression from the East to the West, of that Indian symbol, pervading so great an extent of continent.

THIS pyramidal stone or image of Jaggernaut was said to have come miraculously from heaven. The same was pretended of the effigy of the sun, in the same form, among the Emyssenians. Nay even the Greeks, with their usual fondness for the marvellous, a quality which is specifically the loadstone of lies, adopted a fiction of much the same, though rather of even a grosser nature. Anaxagoras, one of their not least considerable philosophers, imagined that the Sun itself was a large roundish red-hot stone, and according to Pliny the elder (book I. chap. 58.) foretold the very day on which a fragment of it would fall in that part of Thracia near the river Ægos, “which (says that author “very gravely) came to pass accordingly, and the “stone, of the bigness of a common cart, and of “an adust color, is *now* extant, and to this day to “be seen there.” So credulous, and at the same time so imitative a creature is man, that even his fictions are seldom purely original.

THAT these pyramidal and conic forms were, from the antientest times, the select ones of the Gentooes, for the most sacred of their images is certain: but whether they were imitated by other nations; whether the pyramids and obelisks of Egypt, the form of which is at this time actually among the ornaments of our gardens and vistas, were brought thither and improved on by the Egyptian Osyris, together with many other articles;

such as the transmigration of souls, the division of the week into seven days, under the influence of the seven planets, the names of some of which are retained to this day in the English style or kalender, or the distribution of the Zodiac into signs, the use of incense, all which points are strongly claimed by the Bramins of India; it is hard, at this so remote distance of time, to decide on merely certain points of conformity, and as hard to think those points were all purely accidental.

BUT to avoid any suspicion of my leaning to that common weak side of travellers, finding a kind of satisfaction to their vanity in over-rating the countries where they have been, as if themselves were to come in for a share of their distinction, I beg leave to remind the reader, that I have not exaggerated the wisdom and learning of the Bramins beyond what their general reputation will strictly bear me out, and especially that in which they stood with the Persians, who, as their neighbors, may be supposed to have known them best. Towards which I need but select two quotations, and both furnished by Dr. Hyde; for which I shall perhaps be thought the more excuseable, as that even their being in some measure foreign to his subject did not hinder him from introducing them.

THE first from Ammianus Marcellinus. ———

“ That most wise prince Hystaspes, the father of  
 “ Darius, who ventured to penetrate into the in-  
 “ terior of India, in a private character, came at  
 “ length to a shady recess embosomed in woods,  
 “ where the Bramins exercised their sublime facul-  
 “ ties in the tranquil cultivation of the sciences.  
 “ There he learnt from them the abstrusest rea-  
 “ sons of things. They accounted to him for the  
 “ motions of this sublunary world, the planets,  
 “ and the whole starry host. They taught him  
 “ the

“ the purest forms of worship: and when he had collected as much knowledge as he could for the time, at his return he communicated as much of it to the magi, or priests of Persia, as he thought proper. Hence it plainly appears, that he drew the rudiments of his erudition from the Indian sages \*.”

THE second is from an oriental author. “ Persuya, head-physician to the king Nushirwan (who was cotemporary to the emperor Justinian) brought for him a book, entitled, The wisdom of the Indians, or a dialogue between Kalil and Dumnee †, or the crowned head and the enquirer. This he translated into Persian, and deserved by his work eternal reputation among that people. The king too looked on it as so great a merit, that he ordered Boorzumgheer, his first counsellor, to write the life of Persuya from his infancy, to the age of which he then was. And this was done.”

EVEN the Mahometans themselves pay a profound respect to the learning of the Bramins, and would not be so averse to the Gentoos as they seem but for that Polytheism of theirs, which makes them admit of such innumerable gods; especially

\* Hytaspes reigned A. Mundi 3484, or 519 years before our Savior's time.

† This book is in the catalogue (page 19) appendixd by Mr. Frazer, to his history of Shah Nadir, under the various titles of Ayar Danish, the criterion of wisdom; and a modern edition under that of Anhar Soheili, the flowers of Soheili, and of Kalil Dumnee. He observes, that the king Nushirwan the Just made it his guide, not only in affairs relating to government, but also in private life. Sultan Mahmud Ghazi put it into verse. (Frazer, app. page 19.) I never heard that this book was translated into Latin or into any European language. Every one knows that the Indian Lockman was generally believed to be the original of the Grecian Esop.

in some parts of India; as for example, on the Malabar-coast, as far as three hundred and thirty three millions; though they consider this only as a consequence, in course of their departure from the unity of the deity, after which there appears to them no end, or knowing where to stop. Yet after all, if these gods of the Gentoos were to be candidly scanned and liquidated, it might fairly come out that they were considered even by them as no more than a kind of secondary beings, or local superintendants and ministers, subordinate to one supreme God, and thus would the whole legions of them ultimately center in unity. At least I can safely aver, that so it appeared to me from the answers of the Bramins, being far from contradictory to that interpretation, when I pressed them on that point.

## C H A P. V.

*Of the religion of the PARSEES. Division of the religion of the Parsees into two states, ancient and modern. Introductory mention of ZOROASTER, or ZARATOOSHT: he reforms the religion of the PERSIANS. Their horror of ditheism: their accounting for the appearances of evil: their notions of fire; and of the human soul: their belief of the immortality of the soul: doctrine of rewards and punishments. Zoroaster's books being lost, his religion undergoes an innovation. The Parsees scandalized as fire-worshippers in a literal sense: their innocence of manners. Account of the SOUFFEES.*

**I**F I presume to add any thing, on a subject which seems already exhausted by the learned and judicious disquisitions of Dr. Hyde, on the religion

ligion of the antient Persians, or of the modern Parsees, it is most certainly not from any presumption in me of improving on that excellent author. On the contrary, perhaps the remarks which occurred to me, and were the result of my own personal conversation with some of those descendants of the ancient Magi in Persia, now refugees in India, may serve to corroborate some of those points advanced by him, that seemed to me susceptible of a further illustration.

EVEN in some respects where I may appear to differ from him, the prejudice most certainly ought to be in his favor, who studied the matter so much more methodically and deeply, as to deserve a preference to all the information I could obtain though on the spot: but then it was only by smatches from persons, whose broken English I could not always be so sure of understanding, as to depend upon my not having mistaken their sense, and less yet when interpreted by them at second hand, from some that could not speak our language at all. Besides, that such as fell in my way, in this pursuit of instruction, were none of them profoundly versed in their religion, being either purely commercial characters, or such as knew little more of it than the vulgar tradition, or the present practice and ritual part of it. Yet even their imperfect accounts, as they turned on a point of such high curiosity, which religion is generally admitted to be, and open into such a wide field of reflection, appeared to be considerable enough for me, not to suppress in them any thing that might perhaps throw a further light on this subject.

FROM all the enquiries I could make, it appeared to me, if not clearly, very probable, that there are two distinctions necessary to be made in this religion of the Parsees. The first, the pure one of Zoroaster, for so I shall call him, that name being

more generally familiar than his true one of Zaratoosht, from which the other was corruptly formed by the Greeks. The second and more modern one, such as it is at present in practice among the Parsees of Persia and India, disfigured by various adulterations.

It was under the reign of Hyftaspes, about five hundred years before the nativity of our Savior, that Zoroaster flourished. The limits of my plan do not here allow me to enter into the particulars of his birth, education, or introduction of his doctrine; besides that other authors have rendered such a task superfluous. I shall only mention their concurrent attestation of his having been profoundly versed in the mathematics and natural philosophy; whence he probably drew those sublime notions about fire, on which he founded the basis of his religion, and which are to this day retained by his sectaries.

It is very plain, however, that he found the homage to, and perhaps the adoration of that element, already established in that country, since there were Pyræums, or conservatories of perennial fire, known to be there long before his time. But that worship of it, whether religious or only gratefully reverential, or whatever else, was accompanied with so much idolatry or Sabaïsism, that enlightened by a sounder philosophy, he set himself to purge it of its gross errors, and reduce it to the two great cardinal points on which his religion entirely turns: the belief of one supreme God; and of the sun or element of fire being his first minister throughout all his works, as well as the symbol and eternal monitor of purity. The rest of his tenets were only subordinate to, or emanations from them.

As to God, the followers of Zoroaster, agreeably to his doctrine, are so penetrated with his immensity,



menfity, and confequently omniprefence of power, that they efteem it a kind of impiety, or at leaft a fign of narrownefs of conception to erect temples to him, as conveying an idea of locality or confinement of the deity between four walls that fhocks and indignates them. Thence that celebrated faying of theirs, “ that there can be no “ temple, worthy of the Majefty of God, except “ the whole univerfe, and the heart of an honeft “ man.” But of all their opinions, that which they hold the moft f acred, is, That God is the fole neceffary felf-exiftent Being from all eternity, fupreme and author of all good. Thence their thorough deteftation of the ichifm of the Persian dualifts, admitting the co-eternity and co-ordination of the two principles of good and evil, and of the blafphemous abfurdities of manicheifm, founded on that hypothefis of a ditheifm.

THEIR manner of accounting for the appearances, and but the appearances of evil, is as follows,

THEY fay, that God the arbiter and author of all Being, and all modes of Being, created a firft matter or fluid, in which were effentially comprehended all the conftitutives of thofe forms, into which it became under his pleafure infinitely modifiable; fuch as the globe itfelf, men, animals, vegetables, minerals, &c. whofe effence they thus pretend is at bottom all the fame matter, fire\*. That every thing is generated out of it, and ultimately refolveable into it; its particles being what they imagine the minims of *all* exiftence. An opinion, which by the way was alfo that of fome of

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\* The Latin word *purus* is evidently derived from the Greek one *πυρ* fire: as *uro* to burn, probably comes from the Syriac one *ur* fire.

the Grecian philosophers. In this infinitely subtle celestial fluid the parent-substance, or crude matter of all future forms, they say, there existed no distinction of any, till the separation ordained by God took place, by a regulated diversified coagulation of the grosser parts contained in it. In this consisted that division of essentially the same matter at bottom into spirit, and matter or that which is commonly understood by matter in contra-distinction to spirit; or into light, and into the interceptor of light, opaqueness. Between these, through the principle of activity imprinted on that first matter, or elemental fluid of fire by the immediate hand of God, there results a perpetual struggle and conflict. On the side of fire, to rarefy and reduce all things into their original minuteness and fluidity; on the side of hardened matter or opaqueness, a resistance to the returning into it; to which principle they attribute the cohesion of bodies, and their mechanically passive aversion to dissolution. That but for this impression of activity on light, or what they understand by light; the elementary fire, though light is but a part of it, no motion absolutely could be in the universe, nor any thing be kept in order, but by its qualities of expansion and impulsion. That the coagulations formed out of it would be condensed into one hard impenetrable substance, collapsing for want of fire to expand it, or to bring it back to its original state, and compacted with cold, and involved in utter darkness. Neither of which circumstances, as some authors have mistaken the opinion of the Parsees, are positive qualities in matter, but negative ones consequential to the privation of heat and light. That but for the resistant *vis inertiae*, or inert principle in opaque matter, the *vis vitæ*, or vital power in fire, would want whereon to exercise itself in those its omnimodal operations, which, under its  
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primary original laws, serve to give motion, and animation to all forms of being. That this conflict was instituted for the wisest and best ends, since instituted by a power incapable of any other. That it is precisely from this conflict, that all the evil that appears to exist in the world, as well as all the good results; but that the evil is entirely subservient, and even instrumental to the infinitely greater good intended by it. That the stubbornness of the gross opaque modes of being resisting the operations of fire, and producing all those appearances of evil, both in the moral and material world, such as the rebellion of the flesh against the spiritual light, and the distemperatures of the elements, is an incomparably subaltern consideration to the good, which is both apparently and presumably the consequence of the conflict occasioned by it. They make a *toto cælo* difference between God's being the author of positive evil, and his being the permitter of such a comparative evil, as they hold it the utmost presumption in the narrowness of the human understanding to object to it, without knowing or comprehending all the depth and wisdom of the divine purposes and meaning in it. Especially as nothing can be more clear, than that many of those seeming disorders or imperfections, of which nature (which is but another name for the great *fiat* of God throughout all his works) is so unjustly accused, appear on examination to be conducive to the harmony of the whole, and often in quality of salutary admonitions to mankind. The conclusion then deducible from this doctrine is, that since many effects in nature, which appear at the first view to be evils, are justified, as to the wisdom of their causes, by their ultimately issuing in a known superior good, it is but fair to resignedly believe, that all the rest are not one jot the less presumably so, for

their ends being, most probably for very good reasons, concealed from, or impenetrable to us. That it is therefore the utmost rashness and impiety to infer absolute evil from some parts, or individuals, occasionally appearing to suffer in the course of things, from those primordial laws, to which God has subjected all his works in general, without excepting that part of them, man, whose good has been, doubtless, though without indeed consulting him, as much consulted as was fitting it should be, of which God ought surely to be held a competent judge. Perfection too being the appropriate attribute of God, they think it no injustice to man, nor that there was any obligation on that supreme Being to create him as perfect as himself. Thence they absolve omnipotence of the absurdity and inconsistency of evil being introduced into nature by the very author of all good, or which is nearly the same thing, by any subordinate creature under his permission; allowing no evil actually to exist in nature, any other than an imaginary, partial, temporary one, bearing no sort of proportion to real, infinite and eternal goodness, and therefore not incompatible with it. This phantom of evil then, such as it appears in the actual state of nature, they figuratively impersonate in the eastern manner, and give to it the name of Harryman, whence the Greek word of Arimanius; as the good principle or that of light, they term Oroozm, or Orosma-des, by which they also often understand God, for its immediately proceeding from or representing him, for whom they have the reserved appellation of Yezd, or Yezdán. The above-mentioned conflict they also believe will last until the consummation of all things, when at God's appointed time the powers of light or pure spirit, will ultimately prevail over those of darkness or opakeness, and  
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when even the shadow of evil will be driven from the face of things.

ACCORDING to this doctrine, the Parsees are, in a double sense, so far from being materialists, that the name of spiritualists is more adaptable to them, since they rather resolve all matter into spirit; and for that they make a perfect distinction between that spirit and God, whom they assert to be the Creator of it, and whose essence, or mode of existence, they do not however pretend to comprehend or define, content with believing him the supreme Author and Governor of every thing, and different from every thing, but himself.

As to fire, they place the spring-head of it in that globe of fire the sun, by them called Mythras, or Mihir, to which they pay the highest reverence, in gratitude for the manifold benefits flowing from its ministerial omniscience. However, they are so far from confounding the subordination of the servant with the majesty of its Creator and Master, that they not only attribute no sort of sense or reasoning to the sun, or fire, in any of its operations; but consider it as a purely passive blind instrument, directed and governed by the immediate impressions on it of the will of God: nor do they even give that luminary, all glorious as it is, more than the second rank among his works, reserving the first for that stupendous production of divine power, the mind of man.

As to fire itself, exclusive of the supposed denser coagulations out of it, that go by the name of matter, the Parsees opinion of it, such as I had it from one of themselves, is, as nearly as I could understand him, as follows. They very clearly distinguish its existence as fire, into two states; the one that violent one of ignition, such as in the sun, and common burning fire, quick, and with different degrees of fierceness, never without heat, though

though sometimes without light; the other, and necessary to feed the first, by which it is constantly attracted, like a stream rushing to an opening, is that of its primitive elementary simplicity, universally diffused as in the atmosphere, or co-existent with all substance in various proportions, as in salt, spirits, water, in short where not? capable of even giving a sensation of cold, in the too long absence or too great distance from it of the same element ignition; elastic, but losing its elasticity in becoming fewel to that other, whether in purely that its kindled state, or that of its supplying life to the whole animal and vegetable creation, tempered by the fluids with which it mixes, and which damping it, return it effete and unserviceable, till it recovers its spring; every where diffused, in us, round us, and above us, though always impalpable and often insensible, freely permeating, saturating, and impregnating the whole terraqueous globe, to its innermost depths, operating every thing in both its states, by its presence or retreat, and in both its states essentially in incessant motion, though in different degrees, so as that nothing in the universe can be said to be in perfect rest, from its constant work of generation, preservation, or destruction; for the rest of such infinite subtilty, as to mock all grasp, all comprehension, all exactness of definition. Such too is precisely the notion Zoroaster established of its omnipresence, that one would be tempted to think he had from his known skill in natural philosophy, and the curious mathematical machines for which he was so celebrated, the specific proof of it from electricity, that so modern discovery with us.

As to the soul of man, they pronounce it, without hesitation, to be generated and constituted out of this elementary fire, according to the peculiar organization of his body, of which they imagine the heart to be the principal laboratory, sending up the



the spirits, as the lightest secretions to the brain, where they are stopped by that soft substance, and receiving a further coction, become thought, reflection, memory, reason, &c. through the exquisite workmanship of that part, which, as before remarked, they as far exalt above the element of fire itself, as we more esteem a watch for the value it receives from the artificers hands, than for the crude materials out of which it is formed \*.

FROM the persuasion also that God would not make any thing so unmeaning, so much in vain, as so valuable a work as the soul, to have no longer a duration than this transient temporal life, and from the unperishableness of the element out of which it is made, and in which, to use our terms, they comprehend equally the material and spiritual part of the body, only distinguished by different degrees of density and rarefaction, they deduce and firmly believe the immortality of the soul. But for how its individuality is to be preserved they do not pretend to account, nor think their ignorance lessens in the least the probability of that point, since they are sensible they cannot even account for the mode of their existence here in this world.

THEIR doctrine of rewards and punishments in the other life, they found upon the clear self-evident flambeau of reason lighted up in the human soul, which at the same time that it gives them the

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\* This opinion of the essence of the human soul, Boerhaave seems, in his treatise on fire, to have gone round and round, without daring to strike into it, or to express more than his suspicion that it consisted of fire, "*animam ex igne consistere*," the discovery of electricity, had he then known it, would perhaps have emboldened him to a more peremptory decision. And even Sir Isaac Newton's ethereal fluid may, on examination, be found something analogous to this doctrine of Zoroaster's of fire, according to which this globe, and indeed the whole universe is, strictly speaking, an empyreum.

perception of right and wrong, of the conflict in short, to speak in their figurative stile, between Oroozm the good principle, and Harryman the evil one; or, as in ours, between the gross flesh, and the purer spirit, inclines them naturally enough to the side of virtue, to constitute them guilty if they prefer that of vice, the temptation of which was given to them for an occasion of merit in combating and conquering it, and never great enough to excuse their yielding to it, if they did but justice to their gift of reason, or gave it fair play, as they ought to do, if only out of gratitude and respect to the Divine Power, and to follow where he leads.

As to their punishments, they do not admit material burning to be any part of them. They think the element of fire to be too pure, too noble, to be employed in the vile office of executioner. Nay, they pretend that the business of Mihir, fire, or rather divine love, is to be that of moderating the inflictions of justice on the guilty souls in the place of their suffering, which the modern Parsees paint as a dark, dreary, disconsolate region, where every thing is big with horror, pain and disgust; caverns abounding with serpents, water as thick as melted pitch, and as cold as ice. Yet just as those torments are held, and even tempered with mercy, they do not believe them to be eternal; but that after a certain time, the objects of them will be delivered and assumed into a state of bliss, though of an inferior one, to that of the good, from whom also they will be distinguished with a brand in the forehead. They think, in short, that punishments will be, both in point of degree and duration, proportioned to the human frailty and finiteness: but that rewards will be infinite and unmeasurable, like the divine goodness.

SUCH was the bottom of the doctrine of Zoroaster, as it may even to this day be collected out  
of

of the traditional remains of it, among the adulterations it has undergone since his time, and of which I now proceed to give the best account of their origin that I could obtain.

THIS religion of that great man was it seems too simple, too uncompounded to satisfy the gross conceptions of the vulgar, or to answer the lucrative purposes of the chief Moghs, or Magi, now known, in India at least, by the name of *Dustoor*, or directors of their ritual, not improbably derived from the Persian word *Dustoor*, signifying form or custom.

A NUMBER of years being elapsed since the death of Zoroaster, his religion was no longer suffered to continue in its original purity. His books had been destroyed; but whether by accident, or purposely to make way for innovations that could not so well take place whilst they were existing in judgment against them, I could not learn from any Parsee that I consulted. However, lost they all were, and the present capital law-book, called the *Zendavastaw*, in the same Pehlavi language, or old Persian, was pretended to be compiled by memory from it, by *Erda-viraph*, one of the chief Magi. But to judge of it by the abstract or translation of it into the modern Persian, by the son of *Melik-shadi*, a *Dustoor*, who lived about two hundred and fifty years ago, and entitled *Saad-dir*, or the hundred gates, that same *Erda-viraph* must have greatly sophisticated and new-fangled the original doctrine by interpolations, additions, and foisting in superstitions that much disfigured the groundwork of it. Thence probably so many of those absurd rites and ceremonies now in practice among the present Parsees, too tedious to particularize here, and so unworthy the sense of so great a law-giver; such as, for example, their laying so much stress on their cushee or girdle, as not to dare to be an instant

instant without it; their over-acted reverence to that fire, which Zoroaster appointed to be kept in only as a constant monitor to them to preserve their purity, of which that element is so expressive a symbol; and which they carry such a length, as not venturing to pray before it, without their mouth is covered with a small square flap of linen, like a short apron, lest they should pollute the fire by breathing on it. Nor did these innovations take place with impunity: for without attributing their utter subsequent ruin and desolation to any judgment on them, it is enough to observe, that those very acts of superstition exposed them to that constructive scandal, which rendered them so odious to the Mahometans especially, and so ridiculous to other nations, of their paying a religious adoration to fire, which they never did or intended: but the appearances were by their own fault against them. Neither were these additions of Erda-viraph without a view to the temporal advantages of the Magi, to whom a necessity of applying for occasional purifications, not without a fee or gratuity, was made a part of them in the new Zendavastaw. As to this book in the Pehlavi character, whatever difficulty there might be of obtaining a copy of it in Dr. Hyde's time, there has been none lately, it being easy enough to get one, at scarce any more expence than paying for the work of transcribing. I am also assured, there are several copies of it in England. If there are any other works, as I am not assured but what there are, that go in Zoroaster's name, they are certainly none of his, there being no genuine remains of his original writing, or translations from them, but are all compiled and probably adulterated, in the same manner as the Zenda-vastaw, and very likely by the same person.

YET notwithstanding this spurious ingraftment, such was still the force of the sap of the original stock, as to hinder the fruit from being intirely spoilt; for by what even to this day appears, it is certain that no morals are purer and more innocent, either in public or private life, than those in general of the Parsees in India at least. For as to those in Persia, chiefly known there by the name of Ghebers, Gaurs, or Attash-pereests, Fire-shippers, I have little or no knowledge of them. There are, it is true, reports not so favorable of them, but which there are many reasons for rejecting; besides this strong one, that calumny is often added to oppression, if only for the sake of justifying it.

THERE is also great reason to think that the Souffees of Persia, so named either from their *white* garments, or that the term imports the same as the Grecian one Sophos, wise, are but a continuation of the antient Magi, although they outwardly conform to the Mahometan religion for peace-sake, as numbers do of the modern Sabaïtes, or the Drusians and Kalbains, about mount Libanus, and in the confines of Bagdat. These Souffees save appearances in respect to the Persian government under which they live: but the bottom of their doctrine is the purest mysticism, which contradicting no religion, can put on the forms of all, and assimilate with all. This may be evidently proved by a comparison of the works of those Asiatic mystics, or contemplatists, with those of our Christian ones, where the same spirit of refinement reigns congenially in both; boasting an intimate union with the deity, and a sublime detachment from all worldly matters; and even the fire-philosophy is in a great measure adopted by Jacob Behmen, the most celebrated of our modern mystics, and a protestant, who almost wholly



builds his visionary system of theology upon it. The principal aim, however, of the Souffees, is to frame within themselves a mental Elyzium, by an extinction of all the passions, in sacrifice to God: in which state of quietism they say they feel a certain pleasure, like that of the body, when after being over-heated it is cooled by a refreshing breeze. They also, especially in the conduct of social life, recommend three points to observance; 1st, That of a grateful return to friendship and benefits; 2dly, To win all hearts by generosity; 3dly, Never to depart from sweetness of temper, truth and candor.

AND here, on taking leave of this subject, I entreat the candid allowance of the reader for any obscurity bred by the abstruseness of some parts of it; especially, for the difficulty naturally cleaving to it, of finding terms to express ideas originally unfamiliar and new to me; and that difficulty greatly enhanced, as before observed, by the imperfectness of communication in a broken language.

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## C H A P. VI.

*Of the GENTOO funerals. Ceremony of interment: of cremation: and similarity of customs therein with the antient western world.*

IT was at Bombay that I had occasion to see the different ways in use among the Gentoos, for disposing of their dead, that of burying, and that of burning them, which last is much the most common.

As to the first, it was on the downs, that succeeded to the sandy beach of Back-bay, that I happened to be present at the funeral ceremony of a Ketteree,



Ketteree, or rather one of a particular cast of the Ketterees, burying his wife, a young woman that seemed to be about twenty years of age. Those who accompanied the husband dug a pit exactly in the shape of a well, in one side of which there was a nich hollowed out for the corpse to be deposited in a sitting posture, with room enough for a plate of raw rice, and a jar of water by her side. As soon as the pit was ready, they put her into it, with all her cloaths and jewels, exactly as she wore them when alive. But as soon as she was placed, her husband, who had until then stood still, as a spectator, jumped into the grave, and very composedly took off all her jewels, and brought them up with him, after which the pit was filled up. It is to be observed, that though those of the cast of the Ketterees are commonly to be buried, the Rajahs, and the great men of it, have the privilege of being burnt after their death. The wives of those who are not burnt, and have a mind to bear their husbands company, have their necks twisted round by a Bramin, on the brink of their graves, and are then interred with them.

As to the ceremony of burning, I saw it performed on the corpse of a youth of about eighteen, the son of a Banyan. The funeral pile was prepared on the beach, the father assisting at it bare-headed, with what little cloaths he had on him, coarse and torn, which is their general manner of mourning. As soon as the corpse was placed on the pile, and some prayers muttered by the attendant Bramin, fire was set to it at one of the corners; and the wood being dry, and in great quantity, it soon blazed up and consumed the body to ashes, without any noisome smell; such as however does not unfrequently happen if there is a scant of wood, or rain intervenes to damp it. The ashes are gathered and thrown with ceremony into the

sea by a Bramin, who for that purpose wades into it as far as he safely can. Those who are the most bigotted and can afford the expence of it, leave orders for their ashes to be collected in an urn, sealed up, and carried to be thrown into the Ganges, to whose waters they attribute a peculiar sanctity. But what drew my attention most in the course of the above ceremony, was the behavior of the father, who, according to the Gentoo custom of its being always the next and dearest male relation, to set fire to the pile, walked thrice round it with a sort of desperate haste, and then with his face averted, thrust his hand behind him, and gave fire to it, after which he, with the appearance of the utmost agonies, rolled himself in the sand, beating his breast, and tearing his flesh.

THIS also presents another striking conformity with the Indians, of the Romans and western Heathens, as may be seen in more than one description of their burning their dead \*. This, however, and numberless other instances that might be produced of similarity of customs, religious and civil, seem to countenance the opinion before-mentioned, that the practice of the Indians had progressively penetrated so far west as Italy, in the very earliest ages, and even before Rome itself was founded. Nor will the channel of pervasion of the continent appear doubtful or obscure, to those who consider the connections of Egypt with Greece, and of Greece with Italy, and how naturally the importations of the Indian customs may be traced to the expeditions of Osyris and Bacchus (whom some authors have confounded with Osyris) and others into that coun-

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\* ——— Subjectam, more parentum,  
Aversi tenere facem. ——— VIRG. *En. Lib. VI. Vers. 223.*

The circumstance of going thrice round the pile, may be met with in other authors.

try. As to the latter ages, there is no doubt, but that the knowledge of India was as familiar in Rome, as it may now be in England; embassies having even come from the princes of it to Augustus Cæsar, after the Roman wars under his auspices had been pushed to the borders of it. Besides, that there was undoubtedly a considerable trade carried on between India and the Roman dominions, through Egypt by the Red-sea, by the Euphrates in the Persian Gulph, and over land through Persia itself; which kingdom gave also passage to the first silk brought from China, then called the nation of the Seres, whence the Latin word of Sericum for silk. India, however, ceased for a long time to be so well known, from the interruption of all commerce with it, by the troubles that followed and desolated both the Roman empire, and the intermediary countries, till at length it was resumed by the Salernitans and Venetians, opening indirectly a trade with it by the way of Grand Cairo, and Aleppo, by means of the Arabs, and the Persian Caravans which flourished considerably, till the Portuguese Vasco Gama, in 1497, discovered the navigation to the Indian ocean; since when India itself is once more become familiar to the western world, and the trade to it more commodiously extended.

## B O O K V.

## MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

## C H A P. I.

*Variety of the GENTOO customs, and of the weather in the peninsula of INDOSTAN. Account of a species of PIGMIES in the CARNATIC country. Remarks on the Gentoos to the north of proper MALABAR. Story of a female warrior challenging a MORATTUE general. Gentoos expensive in their marriages; affect corpulence; fond of high-seasoning, pepper, myrabolans, creeatt, and sagoe: practice of chewing betel; cachoondah, cachoo, confectionary. Some Casts drink strong liquors, and eat fish and other animal food. Effects of a fish diet. Reservedness of the Gentoo-women. BRAMINS and BANYANS revengeful. Poisoning in INDIA has been exaggerated. Account of a particular poison. Bramins in secular employ; confess the unity of God. Great difference of the proper Malabars from the more northern INDIANS. Plurality of husbands: nudity of breasts. Story thereon of a queen of ATTINGA: the sovereigns of Attinga always females. Manners of the Malabars: articles of their dress. Missionaries scheme of passing for European Bramins: story of the hypocrisy of one. Malabar feasts. Rajah of SARIMPATAM's forces trained up to nose-cutting. — Of EUROPEAN settlements*

*Settlements on the Malabar coast.—Plagues and earthquakes not common in India. Bramins treatment of bloody fluxes: mordechin, barbees: sunrise, its unwholesome effect. Chronical distempers rare in India.*

HOWEVER the Gentoos are comprehended and known to the Europeans under that common appellation, which is derived from the corrupt Portuguese *Lingua Franca*, generalized over the maritime coasts of India, signifying Gentiles or Heathens; and though their religion is every where at bottom the same; it is inconceivable how much the various nations of them in that vast peninsula of Indostan differ in their civil customs and manners, not extensively on the same coast, but where they are only separated by the Ball-a-gat mountains, which are extremely high, and so called from *Bal* mountain, and *gatt* flat, because one part of them affords large and delicious plains on their summit, little known to Europeans. They divide that tract of land, of which one side is called the coast of Coromandel, the other that of proper Malabar, beginning as before noted, at Mount-Dilly; the whole peninsula narrowing to the point, like a tongue, to Cape Comorin, which terminates that part of the continent of India to the southward. Nor is the variety less in the weather itself, which nothing more than the partition made by those hills renders so different at the same time of the year, that the winter monsoon reigns along the Coromandel side, whilst the summer one prevails on that of Malabar, and yet they lie all under one latitude, and in some places there are scarce a hundred leagues from the coast to the other side.

BUT as the land northern, the continent grows broader and broader, and the inland-parts in some

places towards the hills are covered with immense impenetrable forests, that afford a shelter for wild beasts of all sorts. But in that which forms the inland-boundary of the Carnatic Rajah's dominions, there is one singular species of creatures, of which I had heard much in India, and of the truth of which the following fact, that happened some time before my arrival there, may serve for an attestation.

VENCAJEE, a merchant of that country, and an inhabitant on the sea-coast, sent up to Bombay to the then governor of it, Mr. Horne, a couple of those creatures before mentioned as a present, by a coasting vessel, of which one captain Boag was the master, and the make of which, according to his description, and that of others, was as follows.

THEY were scarcely two feet high, walked erect, and had perfectly an human form. They were of a fallow white, without any hair, except in those parts that it is customary for mankind to have it. By their melancholy, they seemed to have a rational sense of their captivity, and had many of the human actions. They made their bed very orderly in the cage in which they were sent up, and on being viewed, would endeavor to conceal with their hands those parts that modesty forbids manifesting. The joints of their knees were not re-entring like those of monkeys, but salient like those of men; a circumstance they have (if I mistake not) in common with the Oranoutangs in the eastern parts of India, in Sumatra, Java, and the Spice-islands, of which these seem to be the diminutives, though with nearer approaches of resemblance to the human species. But though the navigation from the Carnatic coast to Bombay is of a very short run, of not above six or seven degrees, whether the sea-air did not agree with them, or that they could not brook their confinement, or that captain Boag had not



not properly consulted their provision, the female sickening first died, and the male giving all the demonstrations of grief, seemed to take it to heart so, that he refused to eat, and in two days after followed her. The captain, on his return to Bombay, reporting this to the governor, was by him asked, What he had done with the bodies? He said, he had flung them over-board. Being further asked, Why he did not keep them in spirits? He replied bluntly, that he did not think of it. Upon this the governor wrote afresh to Vencajee, and desired him to procure another couple, at any rate, as he should grudge no expence to be master of such a curiosity. Vencajee's answer was, He would very willingly oblige him, but that he was afraid it would not be in his power: that these creatures came from a forest about seventy leagues up the country, where the inhabitants would sometimes catch them on the skirts of it, but that they were so exquisitely cunning and shy, that this scarcely happened once in a century.

If the above relation should be true, as there is no reason to doubt it, we have here a proof, that the existence of pygmies is not entirely fabulous, as nothing can nearer approach the description of them.

As to the differences between the various nations of the Indians of these countries, they are so many, and so great, as to treat of them fully and in order would be impossible to me, both for the extensiveness of the matter, and my not being thoroughly acquainted with them. I shall only mention a few particulars.

THE Gentoos to the northward of Mount-Dilly, as the Canarines for example, and the Sundah-rajah's subjects, all follow pretty nearly the same customs as the Morattoes before described, except that trade is more encouraged in their dominions.

As

As for the Angrias and Kempfaunt, a petty Rajah on the coast, they chiefly dealt in piracy; as also the Malwans, whose capital residence was a small island on that coast, fortified quite round, where they kept their cruizers; but these, as well as Kempfaunt, were rather friendly towards the English, whose passes they respected, on account of their jealousy of Angria. Next to Kempfaunt's country lies a small independent government, constitutionally subject to a woman, or petty Rannee, which is the feminine gender of Rajah. It is but lately that one of these female sovereigns, by name Debooree, who could raise about five thousand horse, which is their way of computing their strength, had so much the amazon in her, that on a son of her's being killed in battle by the famous Badgerou, the head general of the Mar-rajah's, the same who lately conquered Bassaim, and the island of Sasset from the Portuguese, she sent him a challenge in form, which Badgerou very sensibly declined, giving for answer, that the stake was not equal, for that she might gain immortal reputation by conquering Badgerou, but that he could not possibly acquire any by conquering a woman.

THE Gentoos are in their marriage ceremonies extremely expensive, though frugal in every other article of life. Some of them will even go near to ruin themselves in the celebration of their childrens nuptials, and lavish away upon them what would be a handsome provision for the married couple when grown up. For, as I before observed, they make a point of entering them very young into the state of wedlock. Then it is they spare no cost for feasting, ornaments of their houses, processions, music, dancing-girls, fireworks, and the like, in the pomp of which they out-vye one another; it being a matter of ambition with them to have it said, how much was expended at a son's wedding.

wedding. The Bramins too come in for their share of the entertainment and presents, their function being necessary to perform the ceremony. Some of the great merchants, especially at Bengal, have been known to spend a lack of rupees, about twelve thousand pounds; and, besides making considerable presents, have invited the English gentlemen to an entertainment furnished at their charge exactly in the English manner, under the direction of an English steward, for which they have allowed as far as five hundred pounds. In short, there are few of them who do not in this point stretch their abilities.

THE Gentoos too, as well as many of the Orientalists in general, affect corpulence, which they imagine adds to the dignity of their port, as they strut behind a prominent belly, like the pigeon called the Dutch cropper. To compass this, some of them will drink every day large quantities of Ghee, a kind of liquid butter, preserved by being melted, and is kept in that fluid state by the heat of the climate. This they imagine breeds fat, though it is hard to conceive, that it should not rather destroy their stomach by the rankness it must produce in it. They pretend however that experience authorizes this practice. It might so, as to their intention, for any thing I saw to contradict this opinion, in the size of some of those who made use of it; but I have reason to think it unwholesome even for them, if but for that gross habit of body it is supposed to produce.

THE Banyans, especially at Surat and Bombay, as they eat no flesh or drink any spirituous liquors, aim at something supplemental to that heartening diet, not only in the heat of the spices, and of the long-pepper, red or green, which they eat raw, or pickled with their rice, or mix with their currees, but are fond of the drug  
Assa-

Asia foetida, which they call Hing, and of a finer and more transparent sort of it called Hingurah, both brought from Persia. The consequence however of which fetid part of their cookery is, that they smell exceeding strong of it, not only at the mouth, but from its perspiration through every pore. They say in their defence that it is very wholesome, cordial, and a great corrector of all crudity, or indigestion.

PEPPER too they insist on being cooling; but with what truth, I know not, only that it is certain, that on the Malabar coast where it grows, and where one would think whole ages should have instructed them in its qualities, it is their constant practice to give it in great quantities, in the vehicle of congee, which is a kind of rice-gruel, and that in the most burning fevers.

MYRABOLANS they generally use in purging, and have the highest opinion of their effects, either as a preventive, or a medicine. Their are various sorts of them: some they pretend are so strong, that they will operate by barely holding one in the hand clutched. But perhaps this may be only an Asiatic exaggeration.

THEY have also a dry reed, which I have been told has some affinity to the Centaury major. They call it Creeatt, and on infusion in warm water it yields a bitter potion, which they say is a sovereign stomachic, and promoter of digestion.

Of the Sagoe, from the eastern parts of India they have no sort of opinion, insisting, that the appearance it has of a jelly, or mucilage, when boiled, is a false promise of nourishment, being essentially waterish and unsubstantial.

ALL these I have only mentioned for the sake of suggesting reflections to better judges, and without taking on me in the least to determine how far the Indians are right or wrong in their notions.

THE

THE practice of chewing Betel is universal over India, as well as on the coast of China. It is produced at all visits and entertainments among one another, and even to the Europeans, some of whom, especially the Portuguese, and very rarely indeed some of the English, have adopted the habit. It is sometimes offered only in the way of civility, as a glass of wine among us; but in large companies, it is brought in ready made up on Japan chargers, which they call from the Portuguese name *Bandejajs*, something like our tea boards, and distributed round.

THE dose, if I may so call it, must necessarily consist of the three ingredients, the Betel-leaf, the Arek or Betel-nut, and Chunan; for wanting any of these, that deep red color, which results from their mixture in mastication, would also fail.

THE Betel-leaf is something like that of a laurel, and grows upon poles like the hop. The leaf is full of large fibres, which with that of the middle they generally strip off with the nail. It has a hot, biting taste, not unpleasing when one is used to it.

THE Arek-nut is exactly in form and bigness like a nutmeg, only harder; marbled in the inside with white and reddish streaks; insipid to the taste, and must be shredded with a kind of scissors, they are never without for that purpose, so as to wrap it up with the leaf. They use it both raw and boiled, which last they say preserves and adds strength to it. But I would not advise any one to taste it green, since it affects the animal spirits so powerfully, that instantaneously as it were, those who are not used to it, fall down as in a trance; it is true they recover presently, and without any ill consequences.

THE Chunan is only a lime burnt and made of the finest shells. For use it must be wetted, exactly



as if to serve for mortar, and is held in gold, silver, or metal round boxes.

To these three articles is often added for luxury what they call Cachoonda, a Japan-earth, which, from perfumes and other mixtures, chiefly manufactured at Goa, receives such improvement, as to be sold to advantage when re-imported to Japan. It is made up in little round cakes of scarce the breadth of half a crown, but somewhat thicker. The surface is a dark dingy brown, the mass of a brittle gritty texture, and breaks white. The taste is at first little better than that of common chalk, but soon turns to a savor that dwells agreeably upon the palate.

ANOTHER addition too they use of what they call Catchoo, being a blackish granulated perfumed composition, of the size of small shot, which they carry in little boxes on purpose. They are pleasingly tasted, and are reckoned provocatives, when taken alone, which is not a small consideration with the Asiatics in general.

THEY pretend that this use of Betel sweetens the breath, fortifies the stomach, though the juice is rarely swallowed, and preserves the teeth, though it reddens them; but, I am apt to believe, that there is more of a vitious habit than any medicinal virtue in it, and that it is like tobacco, chiefly matter of pleasure.

✓ THE Gentoos in general are fond of sweetmeats and confectionary, and have an infinite variety of sorts of them; many of them unknown to us in Europe, and some of them may doubtless be very good, though I never tasted any I could call so.

THE Rajahs and great officers among the Gentoos, though prohibited by their law to drink spirituous liquors; yet being of the Ketteree cast, which is far less strict than that of the Bramins and Banyans,



Banyans, assume to themselves a dispensing power in this point, and will indulge themselves especially in cordial drams. They may also eat fish, and some particular sorts of animal food; but as to beef, they are to the full as rigorous in their abstinence from it, as any of the strictest casts of the Gentoos whatever. They allow themselves a greater latitude in the plurality of wives and concubines; most of the Bramins and Banyans contenting themselves with one, unless she is, on competent experience, found to be barren, which is among them reckoned a great misfortune and reproach, but which is however very rarely the case.

THE women begin to bear children at twelve years of age, and even much younger; for I have seen them pregnant in their tenth, but then their teeming time is soon over. It is not common for them to have any after thirty, about which time, and often before that, they go entirely out of bloom, and lose all that plumpness and delicacy for which they are so justly remarkable. This is, however, not to be understood of the celebrated beauties of Cashmeer, who being born in a more northern climate, and in a purer air among the mountains of that country, bordering on north-east Tartary, retain their charms and prolific faculty, as long at least as any European women. But these generally fall to the share of the principal Moors or Moguls.

I COULD not help observing the efficacy of a fish-diet, wherever there were fishermen's villages by the sea-side, which were constantly swarming with children, beyond what could be any where else seen. Surely then the president Montesquieu was not out in his remark, that such a diet must diametrically counter-act the intention of the ecclesiastical legislators of the Romish church, who so judiciously.

ly prescribed it by way of mortification of the flesh, or in aid of continency. Such is their infallibility !

✓ I HAVE before mentioned the liberty of the Gentoos women, and their rarely abusing it. When they appear abroad, or stand at their doors, they seem, by their looks at least, and their muttering, to resent it as an high affront, if any one stops to view or consider them. Some of them will with a disdainful air speak out aloud, and often use these words, " Deckh na mur," look and die, and certainly they are in general shy of any men speaking to them unless their husbands. Was a woman seen to suffer any of the other sex, except some very near relations to talk to her, though it were ever so innocently, she forfeits her reputation, if not her cast, as much as if things had been carried to extremities. The Bramins and Banyans too, with all the seeming liberty they allow their own wives, reproach the Europeans for suffering theirs to converse familiarly with other men ; and when they are told, that we entirely depend on their virtue, they shake their heads, and answer with a proverb, that will sound but coarsely in our language, " That if butter is trusted too near the fire, it will hardly keep from melting."

THE Gentoos in general are not only tenacious of their religion, but of all their traditional customs ; their manner of life having probably admitted of little or no variation from what it was in the first ages. They live almost entirely by rule, and the whole tenor of life in one, according to his respective cast, is exactly the same in every point, as that of his ancestors and cotemporaries ; which makes that the description of them by former travellers, is precisely conformable to what may be seen at this day.

It is also observed, that the Bramins and Banyans do not want for that vice of cowards, vindictiveness.

dictiveness. Averse as they are to blood, they stick at nothing to compass their revenge by the ruin of their adversaries: and if incapable of effectuating it personally themselves, like women, and those of a non-fighting profession, so true it is, that the human heart is every where the same at bottom, they are but the more obstinate in pursuing their point, by all the arts their inventiveness can suggest to them. They know perfectly well how to insinuate themselves with governors, and men of power, by the suppleness of their character, and the use they make themselves of to them, so as to induce them to be the instruments of their revenge. This is especially the practice of the Banyans, where they have conceived an envy or jealousy of trade, when they spare for no cunning to hurt or supplant one another, and yet have so much the art of preserving appearances, as not to be suspected of the mischief they cause under-hand, and employ such refinements of policy, as the most thorough European courtier would not disown.

Much has been said of the prevailingness of the art of poisoning in the East-Indies: but by the best information I could procure, there is neither more of that infernal practice, nor greater skill in it than in any other part of the world. I have heard it indeed said, that on the banks of the Ganges, there is produced a seed, that if once swallowed will adhere closely to the coats of the stomach, where it vegetates, and spreads its ramifications so as to destroy a man, without its being in the power of medicines to extirpate, or obstruct its growth. But before reasoning on the naturally seeming impossibility of such an effect, it would be first necessary to verify the fact, which was never in my power, and I have only mentioned it for the singularity of the invention, if, as most probable, it is one.

THE Bramins, as being the hereditary depositaries of all the literature, as well as of the religion of the country, are generally in the highest consideration, and employed by the Gentoo Rajahs as their ministers and secretaries. These last, under the title of Nagur-Bramins, or Scribes, have, in some parts, a singular way of prefixing the cypher of the number one, at the head of their letters, as some Romanists do the sign of the cross. By this they mean to represent the unity of God, which, though rather out of its place, I could not omit, in confirmation of what has been before advanced, of their simplification at bottom of all the divinities of their mythology, into the servants of one supreme God. But as if all these politically ministerial Bramins had renounced the virtues of their condition, with its practical and speculative duties, they most commonly take the bent of the court, and adopt its principles of rapine and oppression, of which they will even submit to be the instruments, and occasionally give as little quarter to their own brethren, as to any others; which spirit of theirs makes a total difference between the worldly Bramins, and the religious contemplative ones, who remain within their sphere, and preserve all the simplicity and purity of their sequestered life.

YET even this corruption, reproached to the others, has not hitherto entirely penetrated to the Malabar countries, properly so called: where, though the Bramins are in the same or rather greater esteem, and have more the lead of affairs, they retain more of the humanity and disinterestedness of their primitive institution.

BUT indeed nothing can hardly be imagined more different in general, than the customs and manners of the Malabars from the more northern parts,

parts, though undivided from them but by an imaginary line, beginning at Mount-Dilly, in the latitude of 12 north. Here the whole government and people wear a new face and form. The country, known by that name, comprehends a tract of land extended to Cape Comorin, and is bounded in-land by that vast chain of mountains which separates that coast from the Coromandel, and runs up through the whole Indostan, till it loses itself in the extremities of northern Tartary, or even extends farther to the very Pole itself.

THIS mass of country called Proper Malabar, is divided into a multitude of petty kingdoms, or chief-ships; through which are diffused nearly the same modes of religion, manners, and policy.

THE highest dignitaries among the Bramins are called, by a Malabar name, Namboorees: next to these are the common Bramins, or Nambyars; after whom come the Nayrs, a sort of military nobility that runs hereditary, as all professions do in the other tribes of India. It is among them that principally prevails the strange custom of one wife being common to a number: in which point the great power of custom is seen, from its rarely or never producing any jealousies or quarrels among the co-tenants of the same woman. Their number is not so much limited by any specific law, as by a kind of tacit convention, it scarce ever happening that it exceeds six or seven. The woman however is under no obligation to admit above a single attachment, though not less respected for using her privilege to its utmost extent. If one of the husbands happens to come to the house when she is employed with another, he knows that circumstance by certain signals left at the door, that his turn is not come, and departs very resignedly. It is owing however to the doubtful paternity, which such a practice must necessarily create,



that inheritances descend by the females, and that the nepotism by the sister's side constantly takes place, in quality of the surest proximity of blood.

THE women of those countries are not allowed to cover any part of their breasts, to the naked display of which they annex no idea of immodesty, which in fact ceases by the familiarity of it to the eye. Most Europeans at their first arrival experience the force of temptation from such a nudity on the foot of the ideas, to which their education and customs have habituated them : but it is not long before those impressions by their frequency entirely wear off, and they view it with as little emotion as the natives themselves, or as any of the most obvious parts of the body, the face, or hands.

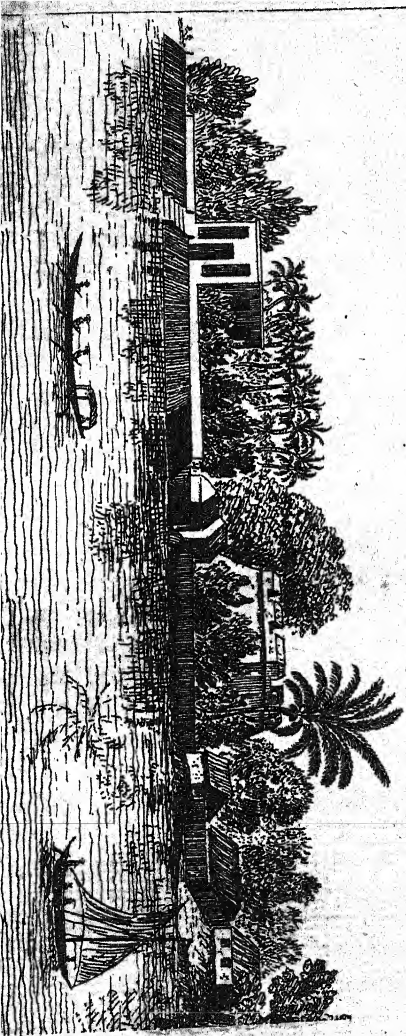
IN some parts of the Malabar, this custom is however more rigorously observed than in others. A Queen of Attinga, on a woman of her country coming into her presence, who having been some time in an European settlement, where she had conformed to the fashion there, had continued the concealment of her breasts, ordered them to be cut off, for daring to appear before her with such a mark of disrespect to the established manners of the country.

THIS Queen of Attinga is the hereditary sovereign of a dominion, in which the English have their settlement of Anjengo, towards the Cape Comorin. By the constitution of its laws, it must be always a female that governs. It is against the law for her to marry; but that heiresses of her blood may not be wanting she may choose whom, and as many as she pleases to admit to the honor of her bed. The handsomest young men about the court, generally compose her seraglio. The sons fall into the rank of the nobility; and the daughters only can pretend to the succession.

FROM

The North East Point of Anjengo Fort on the Coast







FROM such strange customs one would naturally enough conclude, that nothing but such a barbarism reigns in the Malabar as among the savages of America: yet this is far from being the case. The Malabars have in general even a certain politeness, and especially a shrewdness of discernment of their interests, which those who deal or treat with them are sure to experience. Like most of the Orientalists, they are grave, know perfectly well how to keep dignity, and are great observers of silence, especially in their public functions. They despise and distrust all verbosity in the management of state affairs. Their harangues are succinct and pathetic. A king of Travancore, for example, on two ambassadors being sent to him by the Naick of Madura, a neighboring prince, and one of them having made a prolix speech, and the other preparing to take it up and proceed in the same manner, where the other had left off, austere admonished him in these few words, "Do not be long, life is short."

MOST of the Malabars, male and female, are particularly fond of having their ears hang almost as low as their shoulders, which is effected while they are young, by boring the lobes of them, and introducing a slip of a brab-tree leaf spirally folded, and renewed in proportion as the hole grows wider and wider, from the constant elasticity of its endeavor to recover its straightness, and when arrived at its utmost, they adorn them with ear-pendants, heavy enough one would imagine to burst the gristle; in the upper-part of which they also stick jewels of value according to their circumstances.

It is on the southernmost part of this coast that, taking the benefit of the usual indulgence of the Gentoos in matters of religion, some Romish missionaries penetrated into the country; and the bet-

ter to insinuate themselves put on the Bramins dress, and even adopted the string, which is chiefly their badge of distinction, worn across their shoulders exactly like the ribbons of orders in Europe. It is composed of brown cotton threads, knotted at distances, and is what the Bramins especially are never seen without. With a view to palm themselves upon these people for European Bramins, the missionaries also decorated themselves therewith; but not without a previous application to the court of Rome, where they represented it as a purely civil, not a religious matter; which was undoubtedly false, since those tribes who wear it boast of it as a sacred institution of the God Brama himself. But if they had not been profoundly ignorant of the history of their own church, they might have spared themselves the expence of such an untruth: for it is well known, that in the three first and best ages of christianity, the clergy, such as it then was, could hardly be distinguished from the laity, unless by its greater innocence, and sanctity of manners. The succeeding priests soon departed from that primitive simplicity, and made no scruple of adopting the garb of the Gentiles; as for example, the particular cloak of the philosophers, now their episcopal pallium; nor of borrowing from the priests of the heathen gods their taudry fashions of dress, which to this day furnish the chief articles of their consecrated toilet.

ONE of these missionaries, on an English gentleman asking him, how he durst venture himself among so many naked-breasted beauties, defended by no armor but that of a frail chastity, answered, that he had not been insensible to the temptation, but that his method of subduing it was, by dropping melted wax on the peccant flesh, thus to correct one burning by another: on which the English gentleman

gentleman put him into a confusion, equivalent to a confession of his impudent hypocrisy, by telling him, with a very philosophical coolness, that he supposed, by his answer, he took him for a Portuguese.

THE princes and chiefs of the Malabar dominions, and especially the Samorin of Calicut, often, on particular occasions, and festival-days, make entertainments to which the whole country round is invited; and where the quantity, rather than the quality of the victuals provided, inflames the charge of them, being chiefly rice, the pea-like grain of Dholl, with the sauce of turmeric, coconut, and other vegetables, all which articles are in those parts extremely cheap, and the beverage is never but pure water: they are however, literally speaking, cramming-matches; for it is not uncommon for some of the guests, tempted by the free-cost of them, to overcharge their stomachs, so as to die under it. This is treated by the rest as matter of pleasantry; and when they mean to celebrate the magnificence of any such feast, they do it by telling the numbers that burst at it.

ON the back of the Samorin's dominions, and contiguous to them, lies the country of the Rajah of Sarimpatam; not that I could hear of yet subdued. It has been a constantly received law with them, never to make any but a defensive war, and even then not to kill a man though it were in battle; instead of which, they practice a singular method of fighting that has not, it seems, been without its success. Their military was trained up to a particular dexterity, at cutting off the noses of their enemies in an engagement; and the dread of incurring this deformity, a dread equal in many to that of death, proved sufficient to keep neighbors,

not much more martial than themselves, from effectually attacking them. This reminds one of the famous stratagem of Julius Cæsar, at the battle of Pharsalia, riding round the ranks of his hardy rugged veterans, and directing them to aim specially at the faces of the young delicate effeminate Patricians opposed to them. "*Miles faciem feri.*"

The Europeans, English, French, and Dutch have lined as it were the coast of Malabar with their fortified settlements and factories. Some were obtained by force, others by insinuation: but in general the powers in those parts are not displeased with having them in their countries, to which they are undoubtedly a benefit by the protection they occasionally afford them against their enemies, as well as for the trade they bring to it, and for the vent they procure of the natural and artificial produce of them, by which their revenue is increased: and to do them justice, it is seldom their faults if any quarrels with them happen. It is oftener that of the European governors and chiefs, whom private passions, prejudices, and interests mislead into engaging their employers into expensive and detrimental feuds or wars, which they represent as honorable and necessary; or under such plausible, though false colors, as to obtain their approbation and sanction, whilst at such a distance, it is hard for the mis-information to be discovered. Those princes who are not a match for the European artillery and discipline, on conceiving any disgust or resentment, have fallen on a way distressing of such settlements, not only by harassing them with alarms, and a war of ambushes to the very gates of their fortifications; but by laying a general interdict on the trade and dealings of their subjects with them. It is true, that themselves  
are



are in the mean time not a little sufferers by the cessation of their emoluments, and even of the subsistence of their people; but this they can ofteneft dispense with for a time long enough not to be the first tired. Not unfrequently too, they turn the channel of commerce into other European governments, always alert to supplant one another, and avail themselves towards it of these mis-understandings, of which they have perhaps under-hand sown the seeds, or fomented the growth.

As to the climate in general of India, it is far from unwholsome, unless where particular accidents of situation disaffect the air; as the neighborhood of swamps, the dry burning sands on the sea-coast, or the freedom of ventilation intercepted by woods. The heats are rarely such as to be intolerable, especially on abstaining from any excess in spirituous liquors, strong indigest foods, or violent exercise.

It is also remarkable, that those countries are seldom if ever afflicted with those two scourges in nature, earthquakes and plagues.

As to the first, the state of the cave at Elephanta is a proof, that for at least these two thousand years, those parts have been exempt from it; though their mountainous situation near the sea-side, like that of Naples, Sicily, and Lisbon, might make such a visitation naturally expected.

AND as to plagues, I never could learn that there was any tradition, or history of any remarkable ones known there beyond certain epidemical distempers, such as the bloody fluxes chiefly incident to Europeans, and the small pox more peculiar to the natives; and which sometimes rages somewhat in the nature of a plague, making

great

great havock among them, especially on the Malabar coast.

For bloody fluxes, the Bramins suggest a very simple, and as they pretend a most infallible remedy, consisting in a strict abstinence from every thing but rice stewed dry; to which they allow no sauce of any kind whatever, and attribute to it an absorbent quality, that is excellent against that acrimony which preys on the entrails, and breeds the disorder. For drink they give nothing but water, corrected by a very moderate quantity of cinnamon or Cassia-lignum. As to the Tellicherry-bark, long boasted as a specific in this distemper, it seems to have lately greatly declined in practice, probably from experience having shewn, that it was not so much to be trusted to as was imagined.

THERE is likewise known on the Malabar-coast chiefly, a most violent disorder they call the Mordechip; which seizes the patient with such fury of purging, vomiting, and tormina of the intestines, that it will often carry him off in thirty hours. For this the physicians among the natives know no more effectual remedy, than the actual cautery applied to the soles of the feet, the powerful revulsion of which rarely fails of a salutary efficacy.

THE Barbeers is another dreadful illness of the paralytic kind, that attacks mostly the Europeans, and deprives them of the use of their limbs. The natives, with what reason I know not, say, that it is most commonly brought on by venereal excesses, having irrecoverably exhausted the radical moisture and spirits of life. The Portuguese apply to such as are in this condition, from that circumstance, the term of *Esfalfados*: but I am far from clear, that by it they mean all who are afflicted with the Barbeers; which, not denying, but it may

may sometimes be the effect of that cause, is not always so; being sometime produced by colds caught by lying out exposed to the dew, or night-air, and by the consequences of fevers, especially by being over-physicked for venereal complaints.

THE Malabar physicians particularly are of opinion, that it is unwholesome to be out in the air at sun-rise; for that at that time it gives a certain life and activity to the noxious damp vapors of the atmosphere, risen during its absence; but which its power encreasing with its ascent, conquers and dispels.

CHRONICAL disorders, such as the gout, rheumatism, stone, consumption, &c. are rarely known in those parts; and indeed none of the distempers, more particular to them, are so frequent or general, as to form a just objection to the venturing into that climate. Those who live any thing regular, or who listen to the preventive advice of such as are acquainted with the nature of it, rarely incurring more danger from it, than what they might find in their native spot.

## C H A P. II.

*Summary reflections on the trade of INDIA. That trade advantageous to the nation. Certain objections to it discussed.*

THE trade to, from, and in India, has so long been carried on in an established known rote of practice, that the public could certainly learn nothing new from any particular accounts of it into which I might descend. I shall only then hazard here such reflections, as occurred to me on the view of it, in its totality.

It has been said, speciously indeed, but falsely, that the returns from India, consisted chiefly either in articles of pure luxury, or such as tended to discourage the industry of our native manufacturers, by interfering with the produce of it, from their being to be afforded cheaper; and that these articles, ruinous in either sense, were yet further so by their not being to be had but in exchange for bullion, of which they consequently impoverished the nation, and for so few of our home-manufactures, as did not form an object considerable enough to counter-balance the exportation of the other.

To this heavy accusation has been opposed a very solid defence, consisting of proofs, that admitting of no falsification, admit of no doubt; proofs from accounts easily verifiable, of the balance of national advantages being greatly in favor of that trade.

Nothing is plainer, than that manufactures or employment being wanting to the industrious or useful subjects is so far from being the case, that of these there is rather wanting a sufficient number of

of them to the work that might be found for them at reasonable rates, and to the demands of the government for the service and defence of their country.

WHOEVER will enter more than superficially into this disquisition, will find, that pretended superabundance of subjects, having reasons to complain of the labor of the Indians defrauding them of the livelihood to be got by theirs, might be more profitably, to the public and to themselves, employed in branches that would encrease the national wealth and power; such as the more thorough cultivation of our old colonies, foundation of new and useful ones, improving of agriculture, and especially strengthening that great national bulwark our marine, to which the complement of hands is felt, as its greatest need, so sensibly wanting; points rather preferable to many of the arts and trades, purely dependent on luxury, and which at once soften and unman those who exercised them, and those for whose sake they are exercised.

WHAT first gave rise to the idea in me, was the observation of the wretchedness and insignificance to the defence of a country, of those so much envied artists, the whole tribes of weavers, callicottainers, and in short all the retainers to the looms of India, whose incessant and ingenious industry never scarce extricates them out of the depths of poverty; whilst it at the same time disqualifies them for any other effectual service, being scarcely more of men than the machinery of their fabrics. Whatever advantage is made of their industry is entirely engrossed by the Banyans, Chittys, or head-merchants; men as effeminate as themselves; and in whose coffers, generally speaking, all that money stagnates that is not invested in the usurious advances which are so hard upon labor, by unconscionably

conscionably screwing down its price; which being their great point in trade, lessens the commendation due to their spirit of it, lucre being their sole object, and the public good quite out of the question.

STILL it will be said, that such manufactures not only hinder the exportation of money, but actually bring it into their country. This is too evidently true to be denied, and so far they are a commendable advantage, even though susceptible of being abused: but surely it is not ultimately a less one for the nation that deals with them, or that even furnishes them with bullion, if such a trade is carried on with a moral certainty of an outlet or market for the returns, that will reimburse it with profit; at the same time that these of its subjects, who might otherwise be employed in producing the like manufactures at a much dearer rate, should, by a sound and comprehensive policy, be distributed into the many branches in which they are actually wanted, to answer much more valuable ends, in the increase of the protective force of the nation, and of its power to extend its trade, navigation and influence. Such a reservation of subjects, would be only preferring a greater good to a lesser one, to which it would be far from giving the exclusion; as it is far from implying so gross an absurdity as that of discouraging home-manufactures, or from meaning any thing more than a just modification, and choice of them. For in the choice of which to encourage most lies the great stress of policy, and these incontestibly are those classes of mechanics who give to the crude materials produced by this country, such as wool, iron, tin, lead, &c. that additional value of their manual labor, which is so much net profit to the nation. Imports that interfere with such, doubtless deserve to be discouraged, and we see



see that they actually are so. But as to those articles appropriate to India, grown into a kind of necessities by custom, and to which the reproach of luxury can only lie in declamation, the revenue might probably find its account as much in even the quantity of their imports being increased, as in the exorbitance of the duties on them. If more enlarged and comprehensive notions were to take place, under the sanction of proper regulations, the West Indies, and our American colonies, might receive a greater benefit than they do from the East India trade, still preserving to England its right and advantage of being the central point of union of both. Thus if, by any means or device, the commerce with India could afford an augmentation of its number of shipping, the marine of the kingdom would receive a proportionable increase, and employ the greater number of hands, inured to the change of climates, and the experter for those voyages of a long run; which would be a far preferable consideration, to that of their being sunk in such of the lower and more slavish branches of the mechanics, as only procuring them a bare livelihood, rob spheres of occupation, fitter for freemen and Englishmen, of their requisite number of hands, who in them would be more essentially serviceable to the state, in the advancement of the live-force, navigation, and truly profitable trade of the kingdom. I say truly profitable, because even trade itself may be ruinously diversified and extended, if the other principal objects of government are neglected, or even not preferred, and a nation languish with faintness, amidst those riches, which ought to procure its strength and happiness. But this can never be the case, if the increase of the protective power, which has so just a right to be supported by the revenue from trade, is at the same time duly consulted, and so ordered

as to keep pace with it. No folly being greater than that of exalting the mercantile above the military spirit, both being of such mutual benefit, that they ought never to be considered in distinct views. However, if it was necessary to sacrifice the object of one of them, it undoubtedly ought to be that of trade, which must decrease in its value in proportion to its decrease of security, and because the safety and honor of a nation are points preferable to a momentary profit. But the truth is, that there is no necessity of neglecting either, and that it must be a wretched policy that does not sufficiently take care of both, and make both serviceable to each other.

THE expedience of which management stands no where more fully illustrated than in the East-Indies, where it is scarce possible to carry on a commerce on other than a precarious, dishonorable, disadvantageous footing, unless a state of force procures a respect to, or confidence in our arms; the country-governments of India being constitutionally such, as scarce ever to neglect occasions of oppression or plunder, where they have no opposition, or vengeance to fear. Nor do they ever solidly bestow their countenance or friendship, but where they can depend on a protection in the revolutions, to which it is in the very nature of their despotism so often to expose them. The merchants especially prefer dealing with that nation, which they see the most powerful and able to shelter them from the tyranny of their own country-men. Thence their predilection of our government to live under, and to which they are of such notable benefit. As mere traders, the English would never have got the footing they had, if they had not added to that character the profession of arms both at land and sea. This is so true,

true, that the special privileges, fortified settlements, and favorable grants obtained from the several Princes of India, will, conformable to their original dates, appear to have been owing to the figure our nation formerly made there in war, when its victories over the Portuguese, who sunk as fast as we rose, gave it such a reputation, as that hardly any thing was denied to it; and, to say the truth, it is principally on that old foundation, that the extraction of our commerce has since subsisted: I say principally only, because no doubt our frank, unaffectedly and generous national character, amidst all the faults of some of its subjects in power there, I can safely aver, without any partiality, also once bore in the eyes of the Indians a very favorable comparison with the silly, senseless, sanguinary bigotry of the Portuguese; with the unsocial dryness, imperious conduct, and keenness after gain of the Dutch; and the super-refined designing politeness of the French. And yet the advantages of these last over us in the affair of Madras, did not a little shake our estimation in those parts, no people being more apt to be dazzled and influenced by success than the Orientalists, and those of India above all.

THE Dutch especially insult us, in their insinuations to the country-governments, of our inferiority, in that we are not possessed of a head place of arms, such as Batavia is to them, from whence our operations might be more timely, and more effectually applied to any exigence, than as there now exists a necessity for waiting for orders and aids from Europe. They do not consider, or at least do not add a candid confession of the treacherous and cruel supplantment of us, in a time of full peace, in the Spice-islands, which are the mines, from whence they draw the means of sup-

porting the extraordinary charges of that their boasted capital place in India, a competition with which our trade, circumstanced as it has been since that fatal epoch, could never well afford; though it is impossible but it might have gained a much more considerable extension, if either the settlements we actually have, had been better cultivated, useful new ones had been formed, or other channels of commerce explored; or if, in short, more attention had not been given to the temptation of momentary profits and present dividends, than to the founding of permanent establishments upon greater views, but of which the immediate requisite expence appeared to be as so much lost in the distant futurity of the returns. This narrow consideration it is, which combined with a certain generally prevailing indolence, and the facility of humoring that indolence, since the opening of those fatal gulphs, the public funds, which, swallowing up the very aliment and support of trade, have set up a class of men called the moneyed interest, to the destruction of the commercial one, upon the produce of whose stock, which itself has depauperated, it projects lazily to live; all these, I say, have more contributed to extinguish the antient English spirit of discovery and extension, than any certainty that could with reason be pleaded, of there being nothing further to be found or hoped for from it.

## C H A P. III.

*Of the PROTESTANT MISSION in MALABAR.*

**I**N this country is the city of Tranquebar, or Taragu Wadhi, a Danish colony, with a fortified castle, which Ofre Giedde, a gentleman of that nation, purchased of the princes of Tanjaour in 1621; since which time it has belonged to the kings of Denmark. The place contains about 5000 souls; the greatest part Pagans, or Papists.

THAT good king Frederic IV. of Denmark was touched with concern, that so many of his subjects should live under heathen darkness, and was ashamed that Protestants should be wholly intent on commerce, without the least thought, though obliged in meer gratitude, of the salvation of those people, with whom they carried on so gainful a traffic. Not that the name Jesus Christ was unknown in Malabar. There were many years ago, on the western coast, a very considerable number of christians, disciples of St. Thomas, and of the Syrian communion. We presume not to fix the time of their conversion; and the Danish missionaries have proved the famous cross, pretended to be found near St. Thome, and of which a description was published in Lisbon, in 1722, an absolute deception: they have demonstrated, that the names of the kings Pandijen and Choren, which appear in the inscription, are more antient than Jesus Christ. These Syrian christians are divided into two communions; and a great part of them were brought over to the Romish communion, when the Portuguese were masters of Cochin. Near seventy churches were united to that of Rome, and their head in those times was called

Mar-Gabriel: but Mar-Thomas, coming from Antioch, formed a party against him, to the peril of his own life; Mar-Gabriel having sent assassins to murder him in his own house. He was succeeded by another Mar-Thomas; and this antient church recovered some part of its liberty. They have no veneration for images, and they reject transubstantiation: but have embraced the doctrine of Eutychius.

THE metropolitan church of these christians was very near Madras, on the famous mountain of St. Thomas; whither the christians of the western coast travelled to perform their devotions; though it was a dangerous journey of sixty days. This holy place was lately subject to the Portuguese; and notwithstanding they were dispossessed of their settlements on the coasts of Coromandel, it was the residence of a Romish bishop: but the divisions among his people hindered him from making it his constant abode.

NEARER Tranquebar, and in the city of that name, are other christians vastly more numerous. It is about one hundred and fifty years ago, that the Romish missionaries settled themselves in the kingdom of Tanjaour; and Pondicherry was always well supplied with French Jesuits, who applied themselves to the conversion of the Pagans, under the dominion of France. There are other missions in Madura and the Carnatic.

THE Portuguese is the common language of the slaves and soldiers of the company, who are composed of such tawny Portuguese, descended from those first conquerors of the Indies, who chose to stay in the country after they were deprived of their fortresses by other nations.

THE Malabarian language is very difficult for an European. Baldæus and Gedaes have pronounced



nounced it impossible to be learnt by one not born in the country. The Romish missionaries seldom enjoin themselves so hard a task; and indeed what means are there of learning it? M. Ziegenbalg found but one European, who knew enough of Malabarian to make a translation of it: and there was no book to serve him for a guide. There was but one way for him to be instructed in it, and that very mortifying for a person who had no other views than the service of the gospel. He made a bargain with a Malabarian schoolmaster, and went and seated himself among the naked children of the country, who learned to read and write: there he learned to draw in the characters of sounds, the sense of which was wholly unknown to him; and submitted to the same tasks as the school-boys. Such was the ardent zeal of M. Ziegenbalg, that in less than a year he attained a perfect knowledge of the Malabarian tongue; and the learned of that country admired the elegance of his diction. After that, in 1708, he applied himself to the translation of the Bible, which he finished in 1711, and had it printed at Tranquebar in 1714. He composed also a Malabarian dictionary of 20,000 words, taken from the poets. As soon as he could speak the language, he employed this new talent in the propagation of the christian faith. He resorted to the Pagan feasts, to the pagodas, to the consecrated fish-ponds, and wherever these Gentiles had their assemblies: there he consulted the Bramins; representing to them the ridiculousness of their religion, and raised the admiration of the people, who never heard any man talk like that German priest. The principal persons among the learned, both Pagans and Mahometans, held frequent assemblies for regular conferences, and entered into formal disputations

with him; in which the purity of the christian morals displayed itself in such a manner, as to affect the most barbarous hearts. The Pandarams, the Mahometan priests, and the Bramins themselves, yielded to the force of truth. Mr. Ziegenbalg and Mr. Plutschau soon found, it was an easy matter to get the better of them at disputing; but that their adversaries had not the least concern in such a victory. Mr. Bourguet, in a remarkable letter addressed to Mr. Ziegenbalg, advises him to begin with a physical demonstration of the Being of a God. The Pagans are sufficiently convinced of this point, and besides, they want not to be confuted, but reformed. Here lies the main difficulty of conversions, and the difference between the labours of the missionaries of Rome and of Tranquebar; the Romans aim at nothing but persuasion; the Protestants endeavour to instruct and to render their converts wiser as well as better.

M. ZIEGENBALG, to try another method unknown to the Romish missionaries, and to which their pride would never condescend, proposed to himself the instruction of children, whose tender hearts were free from prepossession, and not to leave them till he had thoroughly seasoned them with the principles of the true religion; for this end, he and his colleague gave public notice, that they would open a free school, where all sorts of children should be taught reading, writing, and accompts, with other things proper for their age, gratis. The concourse to these schools was surprising: in 1714, there were 21 schools in the city and suburbs, and the number of children 575, who there received instructions. At first, while the missionaries had none but Pagan assistants and overseers, they could teach the children nothing but morality, and choice sentences taken out of the Bible; which, for their elegance, were acceptable

able to the Heathens themselves; but at last they found means, by degrees, to convince governors of the schools, and to convert the children; and to this the establishment of the gospel is principally to be ascribed. The Malabarians themselves admired that spirit of charity which animated those schoolmasters, and regarded those schools as one of their best public works.

ALL nations have their prejudices, and the Malabarians in particular; though not so strong as those of the southern people of Europe. They have the same respect for the antiquity of their religion, the same fondness for frivolous ceremonies, and the same confidence in good works and penances. They have besides, an extreme repugnance to what they esteem impurity. The more intelligent persons among them had nothing to object to the missionaries, but the wine which the Europeans drank, the beef which they eat, the confusion of sects, and the omission of ceremonial ablutions. These prejudices operate with more force in proportion to the natural indolence of the nation, which hears and answers with docility, but suffers little or no impression from the force of reason.

TRAVELLING in this country is attended with great difficulties. The king of Tanjaour is extremely jealous of every white man who passes through his territories. At every village, the toll-gatherers are intolerable in their exactions upon Europeans, and detain them until they obtain their liberty from the court by presents. Besides this, the burning sands, and the heat of the sun, and the want of food dressed after the European manner, are great obstacles, if not unsurmountable at some times: but these difficulties could not retard the zeal of the Danish missionaries, who, in 1707, applied one half of their pensions in erecting a mean church, which was called Jerusalem; and which has since

been rebuilt in a better manner. The other half was dedicated to the service of the schools; reserving only a bare subsistence for themselves.

IN 1712, there were 117 Malabarian Gentiles added to the christian church, and the number of converts amounted to 221. The labours of Mess. Ziegenbalg and Plutschau were soon become famous in Asia and Europe; and the veneration which these apostolical persons attracted from all ranks, procured them assistances, as powerful as they were unexpected. The king of Denmark settled on them 2000 crowns a year, payable from the post office, to defray the necessary charges of the mission; and this sum was often doubled by extraordinary presents. The piety of the king disposed him to augment this fund, which was so well employed to the advancement of true christianity.

GERMANY, excited by the accounts published at Hall, since 1709, sent large sums towards the support of the mission. But the greatest contributions came from England, which exerted itself on the occasion. Since 1709, the society established there for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts very liberally assisted Mr. Ziegenbalg; and, in 1713, the sum sent from England amounted to 1194*l*. sterling, which much exceeded the entire annual revenue for some years past.

It was indeed very affecting to see the protestants at last awake out of their lethargy. Mr. Plutschau, who was returned into Europe, had many marks of esteem conferred upon him, and favours were accumulated upon the Danish missionaries; who, from that time, almost constantly took their voyage to the Indies by way of England, and in English vessels. Since that time, there has been erected a Portuguese printing press, which was taken by the French forces, commanded  
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by M. du Gue Trouin, when he plundered Rio de Janeiro in 1711, and afterwards purchased and sent to Tranquebar; on which occasion 250 copies of the New Testament in Portuguese, printed at London, were dispersed among the Portuguese in Brasil, who were the first of their nation in those parts, that ever had an opportunity of reading the gospel.

ENGLAND, from that time, continued powerfully to assist the mission of Tranquebar, and alone sustained the mission of Madras, and that of St. David. Of late years, those missions have been in a more particular manner the object of their charity. Two archbishops of Canterbury, Tennyson and Wake, set on foot a collection for this purpose: the University of Cambridge followed the pious example of those prelates, and king George I. honoured the missionaries with a letter written with his own hand.

IN 1715, was established at Copenhagen, a society for propagation of faith, which has since that time had the particular inspection of the mission. Loaded with honours and the charities of all nations through which he passed, Mr. Ziegenbalg, in 1716, returned to Tranquebar, the country designed for the last scene of his devoted life and labours.

AT his return things assumed a new face: there were two printing presses already in the country; for Germany had furnished them with one for the use of Malabar. The presses were employed on an edition of the Bible, and other books designed for the conversion of the Gentiles, which were three short treatises; one entitled, Letters to the Malabarians; another, The way of salvation; and the third, Paganism, a state of damnation. The publication of these books, and especially the New Testament,

Testament, had a surprising effect. The very Romans themselves then acted in disobedience to their priests, which they had never done before, and came and asked for the gospel, which they had received for the foundation of their faith, without knowing what it was.

M. ZIEGENBALG began translating the whole Bible into the Malabarian language, which was not finished before 1725, by Mr. Schulze, who catechised the children publicly, to oblige in a manner the Gentiles to hear the gospel. He established an excellent order in the exercise of piety; and Mr. Stevenson, an English minister, who paid a visit to Mr. Ziegenbalg at Tranquebar, speaks with admiration of the decency of divine service, and of the good order which he observed in all his ministerial labours.

THE king of Denmark had honoured M. Ziegenbalg with the title of superintendant, which he had hitherto borne among the missionaries. Three new assistants were come to him from Europe, when death carried him off, on the 25th of February 1719, in the 36th year of his age. Mr. Grandler, his faithful assistant, who had particularly devoted himself to the care of the schools, survived him but a year, and had only time to leave his orders to Schulze, the oldest and most active of the three ministers of the gospel. The death of those two persons reduced the mission to a very low state, and the new missionaries found themselves in the same circumstances with Messrs. Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, when they first entered on their work, being obliged to learn the language, without any other assistance than what they found in the books of their predecessors. The schools were dissolved, because the contract ceased between the schoolmasters and the surviving missionaries,



sionaries, who could not be comprehended under it. This doctrine of the mission lasted several years, and the number of converts in 1724 amounted but to 28. The number of converts has considerably increased since 1736. There were in all 6252, in the 35 years of the mission, ending October 5, 1742, a number of which, without being fabulous or miraculous, must however be accounted a considerable acquisition made by the gospel, and a recompence proportionable to the number and labours of the missionaries. These converts live partly at Tranquebar, and the rest are dispersed over the kingdom of Tanjaour, where the missionaries have formed five dioceses, or particular districts of the Gentiles.

THE mission of Tranquebar in 1742, was under the direction of eight missionaries, two national priests, three catechists of the first order, besides those of an inferior rank, with a proportional number of assistants. The schools in the city are in very good order, and consist of near 200 children, maintained at the expence of the mission: and new schools have been established in the country of Tanjaour. The Dutch East India company has done many good things for the propagation of the gospel: but it is in its power to do something more, without hardly touching those immense funds which it possesses.

## C H A P. IV.

*Of some particular ANIMALS of INDIA. The ELEPHANT and RHINOCEROS. The CAMEL, DROMEDARY, and CAMELOPARD. The LION and LIONESS. LEOPARD and PANTHER. The TYGER. The APE.*

**I**T is not in men alone, that the difference of talents and dispositions is remarkable: all nature is full of similar examples. Every climate is not proper for every fruit; happy is that which produces the best. It is true, that India is deficient in some of the conveniencies of life; but this loss is amply made up by the great abundance of all that is necessary, and of several things that are peculiar to it, which draw thither all other nations of the world, either to admire its curiosities, or to make a profit of its riches and fertility. For there is none of them, but whom either necessity or luxury lead to the Indies: but the Indians themselves are not obliged to go any where else to give proofs of their indigence: they can even boast with justice, that they have more rarities than all other nations together; of which every one may be convinced, when acquainted with the nature of some animals familiar to them, and of the fruits which they gather in the fields.

No other countries in the world but the Indies, and some southern provinces in Africa, produce Elephants: but the Indian are much better than the African in quality. This animal, the largest, and the most extraordinary in its nature, which the earth produces, deserves to be considered in the first place. As savage of itself as the lion or the tyger,

tyger, it must be hunted like other wild beasts; and there formerly were none among the Indians, but the shepherds who had that permission. They inclosed, by a large and deep ditch, a plain about a quarter of a league in circumference; where they built a bridge of wood, and hovels into which they might retire; into this inclosure they carried some tame female elephants, who drew the wild ones thither in the night-time. As soon as they entered, the hunters retired out of their inclosure, drew off the bridge, and went into the neighbouring villages to seek for aid. Several days after, when they saw the elephants weakened with hunger and thirst, they returned upon tame elephants, with which they pursued and harrassed them, until they had exhausted their force. Then they bridled them, and made incisions about their mouth, and round their neck, to render them more sensible, and stop them when they made too violent a motion: afterwards they mounted, and drove them into stables by the force of blows.

NOTWITHSTANDING the enormous bulk of this animal, being twenty feet in circumference, he is of a docility and ingenuity approaching to the human intelligence. He is susceptible of love, affection and gratitude to such a degree, as to pine away with grief when he has lost his keeper: he is observed to be transported with grief, and ready to kill himself, when, in a furious moment, he has killed or treated him ill.

To this instinct of humanity, the elephant joins an extraordinary force, proportioned to his stature, which renders him the strongest of all animals. The Indians have always trained them to war, and made them the terror of the enemy, by the slaughter which they occasioned when they gave them the signal to advance. This happened by the  
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found of drums and trumpets, by the sight of blood already spilt, at which they have a horror, or by a view of certain liquors which resemble it, as the juice of mulberries or grapes. In an instant they make a furious assault, throw themselves across the battalions, and carry every where terror, disorder and death. The smell and dreadful bel-  
lowing of these animals occasion still more disorder among the horses than the men. At the first attack, they are struck with terror, they cannot be made to advance; they fall back upon one another, and even throw their riders. Cæsar had but one elephant, when he gave battle to Cassibelan, king of the Britons, and he alone put the whole army to flight. This was the principal use which the Persians, Syrians, and Romans made of them.

SOMETIMES they built upon the back of those monstrous creatures great wooden towers of several stories, upon which the archers mounted, and shot in safety, having almost their whole body under covert. In the battle which Antiochus Eupator gave to Judas Maccabeus, that king of Syria had more than thirty elephants of this kind, on each whereof were thirty-two archers, who shot arrows from all sides; and an Indian who guided them. In the Indies they were ranged in the front of the army, at a hundred paces distance the one from the other, where they served as a rampart against the enemy, until the moment when they were to be roused and united. Porus placed two hundred in the same line, when Alexander came to attack him.

THIS animal is sixteen or eighteen months in the belly of its mother, after which he comes forth about the bigness of a calf. He does not arrive at his full strength, until the age of fifty or sixty years;

years; it is only then that they can build a tower upon his back. From his nose there hangs a mass of long and hollow flesh, which they call his trunk, and sometimes his hand, because it is of infinite service to him whether for feats of advantage, or of strength: he makes use of it to carry things to his mouth; from that arise two teeth, or prodigious tusks, which grow to six feet in length, from whence we have our ivory. As if this animal was acquainted with their value, or apprehended being killed on their account, he hides them in the earth whenever they fall from him through age, or any other accident. The skin upon his back is like a thick buckram, or rather a suit of armour, which can scarce be cut through; but under his belly it is much thinner.

THEIR ordinary food is grass or corn; but they are very fond of sweets, such as barley-sugar, and this is given to tame them. They make those whom they design for war drink the wine of the country, that is a kind of beer: but others who are weaker, and used for labour, drink only water, which they love best when it is muddy. They are subject to different distempers, of which the Indians know the remedies; and this makes that animal live two or three hundred years. Apollonius Tyaneus, or Damis, related that they had seen in the city of Taxila, the elephant of the famous Porus, with two circles of gold round his tusks, in which it was written, in Greek characters, that Alexander, in esteem of him, had consecrated him to the Sun. At the same time he must have been above four hundred years old. But their too great love for the marvellous renders this suspected.

THE Rhinoceros, called by the modern Indians Abadu, comes very near the elephant in bulk and figure.

figure. This creature is chiefly found in the island of Java ; but is common enough in the kingdoms of Bengal and Patna. The ancients have frequently mentioned this animal, but without giving an exact description of it.

WE must then have recourse to the moderns for a knowledge of this extraordinary animal. Bon-tius and Father le Compte, who had examined it several times, speak of it pretty much in the same manner. Here follow the words of the missionary. The Rhinoceros is one of the most extraordinary animals in the world. He is somewhat like the wild boar, if it was not that he is much larger, that his feet are thicker, and his body more unwieldy. His skin is all over covered with large and thick scales of a blackish colour, and an uncommon hardness. They are divided into small squares or buttons, raised a little above the skin, and nearly like those of the crocodile. His legs appear to be set in boots, and his head wrapt up behind in a smooth capuchin, which has given occasion to the Portuguese, to call him an Indian monk. His head is large ; his mouth little ; and his snout down to a great length, and armed with a long thick horn, which makes him terrible to the tygers, buffaloes, and elephants. But what appears most wonderful in this animal is his tongue, which Nature has covered with so rough a membrane, that it is not at all different from a file, and flays every thing which he licks. As we have animals in Europe that make a grateful repast on thistles, whose small points agreeably stimulate the fibres or the nerves in their tongue ; so the rhinoceros eats with pleasure the branches of trees bristled all over with the largest thorns. We are told by some travellers, that they have frequently given him of these, whose points were very rough  
and



and long, and it was wonderful to see with what greediness and dexterity he immediately licked them up, and chewed them in his mouth without the least inconvenience. It is true, it was sometimes a little bloody, but that even rendered the taste more agreeable, and these little wounds to appearance made no other impression on his tongue than salt and pepper make on ours." The author might have added, that this animal has two kinds of wings of a skin extremely ugly, which cover his belly like a housings, and in shape resembling the wings of a bat.

THOUGH the rest of his body is in a manner wrapt up in armour, and those who attack him are exposed to great danger; yet the Indians hunt him as they do other animals, because he is of great use to them after his death. The Moors eat his flesh, however hard it may be. His horn is not less curious than useful: when it is cut through the middle, on each side is seen the figure of a man, whose outlines are marked by little white strokes, with those of different birds and other things, as in the Egyptian flints. The greatest part of the Indian princes drink out of cups made of this horn, because they say, it sweats at the approach of any poison whatsoever. The people of Java likewise set a great value on this animal, because there is no part but is found in some degree useful in medicine. They make use of its flesh, horn, blood, teeth, skin, and even its excrements. They are persuaded there cannot be a better antidote against all kinds of poison, and they attribute to it the qualities which the ancients did to the Unicorn. Frequently they make bucklers of its skin with its scales.

THE camel and the dromedary perform to the Indians, and the greatest part of the eastern nations,

the same services which we receive from beasts of burden, with this difference, that they will carry a thousand weight and above, and go fifty leagues in a day without being fatigued ; but they are not fit to draw carriages.

THE camel is naturally fearful, insupportable to the horse on account of his bad smell, and suffers himself to be devoured by the lion and the tyger without the least resistance. We are assured he lives a century, if no accident happens to him. He has no teeth, except in his lower jaw ; and he differs from the dromedary in this, that he has only one bunch on his back, and the dromedary two, disposed lengthways.

THE Camelopard is not so well known. It does not resemble the camel, whose name the ancients had given it, but in the head and the manner of carrying it, bearing it in a bolder and more upright manner. His skin is reddish spotted with white, or white with spots of red ; and his size bigger or less, pretty near that of a fine horse ; but he is very slender about the loins, somewhat like the ape.

THE Indians, according to the ancients, had even the art of taming the lion, and making him hunt like a dog, or to draw like a horse. His strength, his courage, and majesty have occasioned him to be called the king of beasts : and indeed he uses them as a demesne appertaining to him, having no other food. All of them respect him ; all tremble before him ; “ but I know not by what instinct, says *Ælian*, he himself trembles before the cock and the elephant.” He never attacks a man, says *Pliny*, but when old age prevents his overtaking other prey. It is then he draws near to cities, devouring those he finds in the fields. Sometimes the sense of his weakness incites him to join with others,

others, to afford each mutual aid; and this union becomes so much the more dangerous, that one cannot be attacked without engaging the rest which are in full strength. At other times he is not daunted at the most formidable hunter, whom he views with confidence and fierceness. He receives his first attack; he beats the ground with his tail, lashing his sides, and thus by degrees kindles that fury which has no example, and to which the most violent transports of passion may be compared. As there are always many engaged against him, he examines with attention from what hand those arrows are sent which wound him, whom he distinguishes from those who only flourish their weapons, or miss him. He fixes chiefly on those who have struck him; and if he can lay hold of them, tears them in pieces; but his vengeance is satisfied with overturning the others, and tossing them about. The lioness is not so distinguishing in her fury: as sensible to the loss of her young as to her own wounds, she, with her head to the ground, her eyes fixed upon those who would ravish them from her, never fails to save them, or to perish in their defence. That which *Ælian* and other naturalists relate of the fertility of this animal is peculiar to itself. They say she brings forth but five times; the first time she has five young ones; the second four; the third time three; the fourth no more than two; and the last time only one. Sometimes she couples with the leopard, and they distinguish the lions that proceed from thence, by their not having so fine a mane as those of the genuine species. Both the one and the other are much afraid of fire: some of them are white and some tawny.

THE leopard and panther, according to *Pliny*, *Ælian*, and others, are the male and female of the

same species. Although this creature is not so large as the lion, he is not less cruel and dangerous when attacked; but seldom invades man first; yet the Indians despise his fury, and know how to profit by it. They hunt him among other wild beasts; they eat his flesh, and preserve his young ones. When they have tamed and familiarised them, they present them to the king, or keep them to make use of them in hunting. The leopard is naturally adapted to it, and carries that about him which attracts his prey. So sweet an odor exhales from his body, that the roe-bucks and does are charmed with it, and approach him without knowing their danger: but as the sight of his head terrifies them, and as they betake themselves to flight the instant they perceive it, he has the cunning to conceal it under the leaves of trees, and makes not the least motion till they are so near, that he can unexpectedly spring upon them. This kind of hunting is still in use among the Indians; though permitted to none but the king.

It is pretended, that while the panther has young, the leopard dares not defend himself against her, although much the stronger, and that she makes him suffer every kind of abuse. Because this animal loves wine, says Appian, the ancients have looked upon it as a symbol and attendant of Bacchus.

ALL these animals are as frequent in Arabia and Lybia as in the Indies: but it is here chiefly that the tyger is found, whose very name recalls the idea of fierceness. In order to take them, the shepherds or hunters watch the moment when the mother is gone to seek food for her young, and carry them off. But when she returns, and finds them not, she becomes furious; she traces them by the smell, and runs with incredible swiftness till she  
has

has overtaken the Indians, who fly before her on the fleetest horses. When she comes near, they drop one of her young, which she takes between her teeth and carries back to her den: the hope of recovering the rest in the same manner, inspires her with ardor, and causes her to return with greater alacrity. But the hunters have boats prepared on the banks of a river, and thus escape her fury. They tame the young ones, and make the same use of them as those of the panther.

It were almost needless to speak of the ape, unless it were to take notice, that he has his origin chiefly from the Indies. They are seen in that country of all colours and of all kinds; grey, red, white and black; and some have been brought into Europe larger than an ordinary dog, whose faces were of a perfect azure color.

THEIR attachment to one another is perhaps without example, among other animals; and we may judge of it by a singular instance which Tavernier relates. "Returning from Agra with the English president, who was going to Surat, about four or five leagues from Amenabad, we passed thro' a little forest of the trees called Mangoes. We saw a good number of large apes, male and female, many of the last holding their young ones between their arms. We were each of us in our chariot, and the English president stopt to tell me, that he had a fine fowling-piece; and knowing that I was a good marksman, begged of me to try it on one of those animals. One of my servants, who was of the country, having made me a sign not to hazard it, I endeavored to dissuade the president from his design. But in spite of all I could say, he shot and killed a female ape, which hung among the branches, letting her young ones fall to the ground. What my servant had foreseen came to pass im-

mediately, all the apes who were on the trees, to the number of more than sixty, descended immediately in a fury, and fell upon the president's coach, whom they would have strangled, had it not been for the ready assistance afforded him by shutting the doors, and setting all our domestics to drive them away; although they came not near me yet I was afraid of the fury of these animals, who were strong and large: they pursued the president's coach near a league, so much were they enraged."

MR. EYRE, who was chief of Patna in 1750, met with a similar accident, as he was going through a wood near the Ganges, with a guard, and many others in company. They saw a great number of large apes among the trees, chattering and making a loud and menacing noise: one of the soldiers fired and killed a large ape; upon which some apes ran and lamented over it, while others advanced, as if they would attack the destroyers; but another fire made them disperse.



## C H A P. V.

*A description of the country of TRANQUEBAR. Of the coins, money of accompt, weights, and measures of INDIA. With a list of our EAST-INDIA company's present forts and factories.*

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the simplicity and rudeness of their tools, the Malabarians are very good mechanics, as may be seen by their fine painted chints. Here a joiner is likewise a carpenter and turner, and in all these trades he only uses a kind of a very imperfect hatchet, a wimble, hammer and plane. As there are no European mechanics in the colonies, the natives do all the work, and much cheaper than the Europeans could do it.

THEY have their sciences, as well as we; and will not be persuaded they were ever known to the Europeans. They are great admirers of physic, so that the Romish catechists have a general passport, by applying themselves to this science; and such has been their success, that the late Mr. Grundler has given us an entire system of it; and in a great measure we owe to their labours the magnificent garden of Malabar, a description of which is published by M. de Rheeden; a work no less remarkable for the exactness of the figures drawn by the natives, than for the number of the plates.

THEIR physic consists in the knowledge of their plants, and how to use them in prescriptions, which their physicians learn by observation, or have transmitted to them by their ancestors. Yet they do not neglect cultivating chymistry; for they use several calcined stones, or powders; and they even give into alchymy. And their fondness for

it is surprising, considering that fuel is very scarce, and that cow-dung cannot produce that degree of heat necessary for the fusion of metals. Their physicians are not in so great esteem as those of the mission. The great people in the Indies never fail, when they can have an European physician, to prefer him to their own; even the Mogul employed a surgeon, who came to Dehli in the retinue of an envoy, from the English East-India company.

THESE people compose verses; at least the missionaries call such as make them poets; but the Danish missionary could not find a rhyme or measure in the specimens published in the Tranquebar relations; for their language does not seem adapted to poetry: they themselves affirm that it is copious, clear, regular, and formed upon consistent, and even upon easy rules. They are fond of the repetitions of Parta, and Kappa, which seem disagreeable to Europeans; and their words, especially those called poetical, are of a length unknown in other languages.

THE study of the sciences is not so common among the Malabarians. Scarcely one in ten thousand can read and write his own language with accuracy; this being a hard study, requiring six years application, and the pronounciation very difficult. M. Ziegenbalg, whom the most learned Pandarams admired for the purity with which he spoke their language, has left to his successors a great number of faults to be corrected. He wrote d for t, and tch where it ought to be ch, or f. There are two letters in particular, that can hardly be decyphered to foreigners; the one which M. Ziegenbalg wrote rh, is pronounced almost as rch or even ch: but Europeans pronounce it as an l. For instance, Piliacatta, instead of Parheja-kadhu;

kadhu ; the other is expressed by dh, and is rather an r : the same river being written Collarum, by M. la Croze, and Collodham by Mr. Ziegenbalg.

THEIR knowledge of physics is very gross, as appears from their anatomy laid down in the Wedam, which is altogether in manner of the Egyptians. Bruhma resides in the brain ; Pulejar in the arteries of the hip ; Wirchnou about the navel, and Ruttiren about the heart. They reckon a great number of metals ; but they have not learned the art to separate heterogeneous substances, which are not malleable. They have two very singular metals ; one the genuine Tambac, a kind of copper preferred even to gold ; the other a sounding metal, consisting of two parts of tin, and eight parts of copper, of which they make their kitchen utensils. Their history goes back an incredible number of years. In fabulous history they are well versed ; but their knowledge is very deficient as to modern and true history ; it hardly reaches to the beginning of the seventeenth century, as no author among them has taken the pains to leave to posterity a true account of his own times. They tell us of Darma, Choren, Pandijen, and other kings, who were before the æra of the world ; but they know not the names of those princes who reigned three centuries ago.

THE Malabarians pretend they have professors who teach ethics, logic, rhetoric, geography, politics, mathematics, music and geometry ; at least they have names for all these sciences : however, their professors make but a poor figure, if we may judge by the wretched specimens in their Wedam, or sacred books. They do not succeed but in such sciences as depend solely on the laws of nature, implanted in the minds of all nations.

Of

Of the coins, monies of accmpt, weights, and measures of India.

✓ 1. COINS. The principal, and those most generally current on the continent of India, and its islands, are the pagoda, rupee, and fanam, both of gold and silver. They have also several little pieces of copper money, among which is the peca or pice.

At Surat, 16 pices make the ana of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  d. sterling; and 4 anas make a rupee of 2s. 6d. sterling.

At Bombay, 72 pices make the rupee of 2s. 6d. sterling.

At Goa, the xeraphim is worth 240 Portugal reas, or about 16 d. sterling; 2 reas make a basarato, 15 basaracos a vintin, 42 vintins a tangus, 4 tangus a paru,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  parues a pagoda of gold, or between 3 and 4 l. sterling.

At Carwar, 6 pices make the juttal, and 48 juttals a pagoda.

At Tellicherry and Calicut, 16 visims make a fanam,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  fanams of Calicut, and 5 of Tellicher-ry, make a rupee of 2s. 6d. sterling.

At Anjengo, and other parts of the Malabar coast, 16 visims make a fanam, and  $5\frac{3}{4}$  fanams make a rupee of 2s. 6d. sterling.

At Madrafs, and other parts of the coast of Coromandel, 80 carches make a fanam, or 3d. sterling; and 36 fanams a silver pagoda, or 7s. 8d. sterling.

In Bengal, 12 pices make the ana, or  $\frac{1}{8}$  d. sterling; and 16 anas the rupee of 2s. 6d. sterling.

At Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra, a fettalee is worth  $7\frac{1}{2}$  d. sterling; 2 fettalees make 1 focoo, or 1s. 3d. sterling; and 4 focoos make 1 real, or 5s. sterling.

But

BUT there are three kinds of silver rupees current in India: the rupees siccas worth 2s. 11d. sterling at Bengal; the rupees of Surat, worth 2s. 3d. sterling; and the rupees of Madras, worth 2s. 6d. sterling: which is to be understood of the new rupees, as the old ones of each kind are less in value; those of Madras being but 1s. 11d. sterling, those of Surat 2s. and the siccas 2s. 4d.

2. MONIES of accout. At Surat, Agra, and some other cities of the Great Mogul, they use lacks or lacres; implying a hundred thousand: thus a lack of rupees is one hundred thousand rupees.

THROUGHOUT Malabar, and at Goa, they use tangas, vintins, and pardos xeraphin. The tanga is of two kinds, good and bad alloy: hence their custom is to count by good or bad money; the tanga of good alloy being 1-5th better than the bad; so that 4 tangas good being allowed the pardos xeraphin, there will be required 5 of the bad; 4 vintins good make a tanga likewise good; 15 baruccos a vintin; the good barucco equal to a Portuguese ree, or 1-13th of 2 penny sterling.

3. WEIGHTS. At Agra, their weights for gold, silver, musks, civets, and other valuable articles, are called the troll, which is 12 masses; and the mass contains 40lb. For other commodities their common weight is the seer, which varies in several parts of Indostan: in Agra it is of two kinds, the one 26 pices, which is  $26\frac{1}{2}$  ounces; and the other is 30 pices. They have also hundred weights called maunds, 14 seers to a maund, being 33lb. English: the maund weighs 69lb. avoirdupois; but the maund they weigh their indicos with is only 53lb.

At Goa, their weight for spices is the Bahar; it weighs  $3\frac{1}{2}$  quintals Portugal weight. Their other

other weights for sugar, honey, &c. is the maund of 14lb.

At Bombay, 15 pice is one seer; 40 seers is 1 maund, or 28lb. 20 maunds is 1 candy, and 1 pucca maund is  $74\frac{2}{3}$  lb.

At Surat, 40 seer is 1 maund, or  $37\frac{1}{3}$  lb. and 20 maund, is 1 candy, or  $6\frac{2}{3}$  C.

At Anjengo, 80 pullums is 1 telong, or 16 lb; and 35 telongs is 1 candy, or 560 lb.

At Callicut and Tellicherry, 20 maunds of  $29\frac{3}{4}$  lb. is 1 candy.

At Carwar, 25 pice is 1 seer, 40 seers is 1 maund, or  $25\frac{3}{4}$  lb. and 20 maunds is 1 candy, or 515 lb.

Along the coast of Coromandel, 20 maunds is 1 candy, or 500 lb. English, and a maund is 40 seers of 22 maces, or 25lb. English. But at Madrafs, 25lb. is 1 maund, and 20 maunds is 1 candy, or 500 lb.

In Bengal, 20 pice is 1 seer, 40 seers is 1 maund of 75lb. 20 maunds of 25lb. each, 1 candy, 80 couries 1 pun, and 16 pun 1 cahaun.

At Bencoolen, a bahar is 560 lb.

4. MEASURES. At Surat, the covid for silk and linen is 1 yard English.

At Bombay, 5 pecks is a parah, and 25 parahs a morah of uncertain measure.

At Madrafs, 3 pints make a measure, 8 measures a mereal, 5 mereals a parac, and 80 paracs a grise of uncertain measure; but 1 gorge is 20 pices, and a covid  $\frac{1}{2}$  a yard.

At Bengal, the covid is the same as at Surat and Madrafs.

At Bencoolen, 1 bamboo is an English gallon.

THE list of the English company's forts and factories.

In the viceroyalty of Bengal, to which are, or ought to be subject, the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa :

Fort



## THE EAST-INDIES. 285

**FORT WILLIAM**, in the city of Calcutta. Is the presidency, or chief settlement of the company, in the viceroyalty, and stands upon the east side of the right branch of the river Ganges.

**MOORSBEDABAD**, or Muxadabad, is the usual residence of the viceroy, or Subah, situated between the two branches of the Ganges, about 60 miles below, where the river divides itself into two branches.

**PATNA**. The chief market for saltpetre, stands upon the same river, about 150 miles above where it divides itself.

**DACCA**, or Daka. Stands upon the east side of the left branch of the said river, about 60 miles above its mouth, or influx into the bay of Bengal.

**LUCKIPORE**, or Juckidore. An inland factory in Bengal.

**BULRAMGURRY**, or Balafor. In Orixá, near the mouth of the river Ganga, a famous road, where ships bound up the Ganges usually take in their pilots.

**NEGRAIS**. A little island, near Negrais Point, on the coast of the kingdom of Pegu, and east side of the bay of Bengal, under the said presidency at Fort William.

IN the viceroyalty of the Deckan, to which are, or ought to be subject, the provinces of Golconda, the Carnatic, Malabar, and, in short, the greatest part of the large peninsula, lying between the two famous rivers, Ganges and Indus.

AND, First, upon the east side of the said peninsula, commonly called the coast of Coromandel, all under the direction of the presidency at Madras:

**VISAGAPATNAM**. Upon the said coast, and on the frontier between Golconda and Orixá.

**MASULIPATNAM**. A city upon the same coast, farther south.

**FORT ST. GEORGE**, in the city of Madrafs. Is the presidency upon the same coast.

**ARCOT**. An inland city, west of Madrafs.

**WANDIVASH**. An inland place, south of Arcot.

**CARANGOLY**. A coast town.

**ALAMPARVA**. A coast town, about 60 miles south of Madrafs.

**PERMACOIL**, or Perumal. An inland city, well fortified in the Indian manner, west of the former.

**FORT St. David's**, demolished by the French.

**DAVECOTAH**. A coast town, south of St. David's.

**CARICAL**. A French settlement reduced by us.

**SECONDLY**, Upon the west side of the said peninsula, commonly called the Malabar coast, all under the direction of the presidency of Bombay :

**ANJENGO**. About 35 miles north of Cape Comorin, at the south end of the said peninsula.

**TELLICHERRY**. Near 200 miles north of the former, and a little to the north of Calicut.

**ONOR**. About the same distance north of Calicut.

**CARWAR**. About 40 miles south of Goa, the Portuguese chief settlement.

**BOMBAY**. An island upon the northern part of this coast, strongly fortified, and wholly possessed by us.

**SCINDY**, or Tatta. Near the mouth of the Indus, called Sindi, by the natives.

IN the large island of Sumatra. **FORT Marlborough**, upon the south-west coast, and near the south-east end of the island; a presidency under whose direction are all the factories on this island, but the fort was lately demolished, and the factory plundered, by the French.

**Moccomogo**. Upon the same coast, about 100 miles to the north-west of the former.

NATTAL, Tapanooly. Both upon the same coast, but further to the north-west.

UPON the south coast of China. Canton. Is, at present, the only port of China frequented by European ships.

GOMBROON. At the mouth of the gulph of Bassora, in Persia.

MOCHO. On the Red Sea, in Arabia, near the Strait of Babelmandel.

ST. HELENA. An island, in the middle of the Ethiopian sea, and many leagues from any land, strongly fortified, and wholly possessed by us.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of the principal COMPANIES in EUROPE trading to INDIA.*

THE trade to the East Indies was long carried on by the Israelites through the Red Sea and the Streights of Babelmandel, not only to the coasts of Africa on the west; but also to those of Arabia, Persia, and India on the East; who reaped a prodigious profit thereby. King David was the first who begun it; for having conquered the kingdom of Edom, and reduced it to be a province of his empire, he thereby became master of two seaport towns on the Red Sea, Elath, and Eziongeber, which then belonged to that kingdom; and seeing the advantage that might be made of these two places, he wisely took the benefit of it, and there begun this traffic. After David, Solomon carried on the same commerce to Ophir, and had from thence, in one voyage, four hundred and fifty talents of gold. But the use of the compass being then

then unknown, the way of navigation was in those times only by coasting, whereby a voyage was frequently of three years, which now may be finished almost in three months. However, this trade so far succeeded, and grew to so high a pitch under Solomon, that thereby he drew to these two ports, and from thence to Jerusalem, all the trade of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India, which was the chief fountain of those immense riches he acquired, and whereby he exceeded all the kings of the earth in his time, as much as by his wisdom: but at length, the whole of this trade was engrossed by the Tyrians; who managing it from the same port, made it by the way of Rhinocorura, a seaport, lying between the confines of Egypt and Palestine; so that it centered all at Tyre; from whence all the western parts of the world were furnished with the wares of India, Africa, Persia, and Arabia, which thus, by the way of the Red Sea, the Tyrians traded to; who hereby exceedingly enriched themselves during the Persian empire, under the favor and protection of whose kings they had the full possession of this trade. But when the Ptolemies prevailed in Egypt, they, by building Bernice, Myos-Hermos, and other places on the Egyptian or western sea, and by sending forth fleets from thence to all those countries to which the Tyrians traded, soon drew all this trade into that kingdom, and there fixed the chief mart of it at Alexandria, which was thereby made the greatest mart in all the world; where it continued for a great many years after; all the marine traffic which the western parts of the world had with Persia, India, Arabia, and to the eastern coast of Africa, being wholly carried on through the Red Sea, and the mouth of the Nile, until a way was found, about 280 years since, of  
sailing

failing to those parts by the way of the Cape of Good Hope : after which the Portuguese managed this trade ; but now it is in a manner wholly got into the hands of the English, French and Dutch.

THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY. The united company of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, is the most considerable and flourishing company of trade in Great-Britain, and perhaps in Europe, for riches, power, and extensive privileges ; as appears by the many ships of burthen which they constantly employ ; the very advantageous settlements they have abroad ; their large storehouses and sales of goods and merchandizes at home ; and the particular laws and statutes made in their favor.

THIS company was originally formed in the last years of queen Elizabeth ; who granted letters patent to the London merchants, that entered into an association for carrying on this trade ; and the charter which she granted them in 1599, has served as a model for all those the company has obtained from her royal successors.

THE Portuguese and Dutch were in possession of several large territories along the coasts of India, before this time ; as also in several other parts of Asia, proper for the prosecution of this trade. The former, indeed, had no company, which is still the case : but the latter had formed several companies so early as the year 1596, which were afterwards incorporated together.

THE first fleet the English sent to the East-Indies consisted of four ships, which set sail in 1600, with Mr. John Mildenhall, who was employed as an agent to procure a trade, and carried a letter from queen Elizabeth to the Great Mogul, in behalf of her subjects : which ships returned so richly laden, that in a few years near twenty others were sent there by the company.

AFTER the death of queen Elizabeth, king James the First confirmed and augmented, by a new charter, all the privileges that had been granted the company in the preceding reign: and, to shew how much he had at heart this establishment, he sent ambassadors in 1608 and 1615 to the Mogul, the emperor of Japan, the king of Persia, and several other eastern princes, to conclude, in his name and that of the company, different treaties of commerce, of which some are still subsisting.

It is well known how many privileges the king of Persia granted the English company, for assisting him in the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormus; who made use of that famous island, and its almost impregnable forts, as a citadel, to support them in the usurpation of the commerce of the Persian Gulph, which they engrossed for almost an age to themselves.

THE company's charter was renewed by king Charles the Second in 1662, whereby that monarch granted them abundance of privileges they had not before enjoyed; which charter is properly the basis of the company, and was afterwards confirmed by king James the Second: however, there were charters of king Charles the Second, whereby the company were granted some new privileges.

THE first was dated the 3d of April 1662, containing a confirmation of the former charters; or, it is rather a new one, which attributes to the company several rights it had not as yet enjoyed; and adds to, or sets forth in a proper light, almost all those granted to it by the charters of Elizabeth and James the First, which will be more amply spoken of in the sequel; because it is properly the basis of all the commerce of this company; and because upon this charter are founded all the privileges



leges and policy of the company established in 1698.

THE second charter granted by Charles the Second, was dated the 27th of March 1669, whereby his Majesty made a cession to the company of the island of Bombay, with all its royalties, revenues, rents, castles, ships, fortifications, and enfranchisements: such as then belonged to him by the cession of his Portuguese Majesty, reserving only to himself the sovereignty, to be held in fee from the royal hospital of Greenwich, in the county of Kent; and for all duty, rent, or service, the sum of 10*l.* sterling in gold, payable yearly on the 30th of September, at the custom-house of London.

By the third charter, of the 16th of December 1674, the king likewise made a cession to the company of the island of St. Helena, as belonging to him by right of conquest. This island, which afterwards served as a staple to the company's shipping, was discovered by the Portuguese in their first navigations to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope; but having abandoned it, the island was possessed by the Dutch; who quitted it in their turn to establish themselves at the Cape of Good Hope, and were succeeded by the English, who were expelled in 1672 by the Dutch company: but captain Monday, who commanded a British squadron, retook it the year following; and this was the right of conquest that Charles the Second made a cession of to the company by the charter of 1674. The fourth charter the company obtained from this monarch orders the erection of a court of judicature, composed of a civilian and two merchants, in all the factories and places possessed throughout the extent of its concession, to judge of all cases in seizures, and contestations, with regard to ships or goods going to the Indies, contrary

trary to the exclusive privilege granted by the letters-patent of 1662; as also to take cognizance of all causes regarding merchandise, marine, navigation, purchases, sales, exchange, insurance, letters of exchange, and other things; even of all crimes and misdemeanors committed at sea, or in the countries, states and territories belonging to the company; the whole, notwithstanding, pursuant to the usages and customs of merchants, and the laws of England.

THESE four charters were afterwards confirmed by James the Second, by a charter granted in the first year of his reign: but the charter of 1662 was the principal, and consisted of 28 articles, whereof the most material are as follow.

By the first his majesty erects the company into a corporation, or body politic, under the denomination of the governor and company of merchants trading to the East-Indies.

THE third grants it a common seal to serve in all its expeditions; with a power of breaking and changing it at pleasure, and of making and engraving a new one.

THE fourth establishes a governor, and 24 assistants, chose out of the proprietors, or stock-holders, of the company, to have the direction of affairs, and to give all necessary orders with regard to the freighting and sending away of ships, together with all particulars belonging to the commerce carried on throughout the extent of its concession.

THE fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, nominate, for the first time, the governor and directors; and regulate for the future, the form to be observed in the election of the said governor and directors, and a deputy-governor, or sub-governor, to preside in the absence, or in case of the governor's death. They also ordain before whom

whom the elected shall be obliged to make oath, and what this oath is to be; lastly, they fix the time that all these officers are to continue in their post; and when the general courts of the company are to be held.

THE tenth article fixes the extent of the concession, and allows all those that shall be of the company, their sons of one and twenty years of age, their apprentices, factors, and domestics, to trade and negotiate freely by sea in all the routes and passages already discovered, or that shall be so hereafter, in Asia, Africa, and America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, as far as the streights of Magellan; and where any commerce can be exercised, so that it is before-hand concluded on by the company; and so that also the said commerce is not carried on in the places already possessed by the subjects of some other prince.

THE eleventh article empowers the company to enact all the laws and regulations it shall judge proper, to be observed by its factors, captains, masters of ships, and other officers in its service; to revoke them and make new ones; and, in case of contravention with regard to the said laws, to ordain for offenders such penalties, fines and punishments, as it shall judge to be just and reasonable, without being accountable to any one whatsoever, not even to his majesty's officers; provided that the said laws, and regulations, are not contrary to those in England.

By the twelfth, his majesty wills, that for all the duties and customs, on goods coming from the East Indies in the company's ships, a whole year shall be allowed for their intire payment; that is, six months for the first moiety, and six months for the other, by giving notwithstanding a sufficient security; which shall hold good also for the

goods exported from England for the East Indies, which goods shall pay no duty, if lost, before their arrival at the place of their destination; and, in case any duties are paid, a restitution shall be made, on the company making affidavit before the Lord High Treasurer of the kingdom, of the amount of the said loss; provided that if the goods imported be exported again in the space of 13 months, no duties shall be paid for such export, if it be done aboard British vessels.

THE thirteenth article allows the exportation of foreign specie out of the kingdom, to be employed in the commerce of the company; and even those of England coined in the Tower of London, provided that the total sum exceeds not 50,000 l. sterling in each year.

By the fourteenth and fifteenth the company is allowed to have six large vessels, and six pinks, laden and equipped with all kinds of ammunition and provision, together with 500 good English sailors, to support its commerce throughout the whole extent of its concession; whereon his majesty cannot lay an imbargo upon any pretext whatsoever, unless he cannot absolutely do without the said vessels in some pressing and unforeseen want in time of war to augment his fleet.

THE sixteenth grants to the company an exclusive privilege of trade to the Indies, ordaining the seizure and confiscation of vessels and goods, which the other subjects of his Britannic majesty might send there; the imprisonment of the captains and masters of ships who brought them there; and lastly, a security of 1000 l. sterling of going no more within the limits of the company's concession, in contravention to this article.

THE nineteenth obliges the company to bring back into England at least as much gold and silver, as carried out every year; and assigns the  
ports

ports of London, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, as the only places in the kingdom, from which it shall be for the future allowed to export the specie it shall have occasion for in its traffic, which specie of gold and silver shall be entered in the said ports, either going out or coming in; though without paying any duties.

By the twentieth, the custom-house officers are enjoined not to suffer the entrance of any goods coming from the places within the extent of the company's concession, unless by a permit in writing.

THE twenty-first fixes the sum in the capital stock necessary to have a vote in the meetings at 500 l. sterling, empowering notwithstanding those who shall subscribe a less sum to join severally together for the forming of one vote.

THE twenty-fourth article allows the company to send ships of war, and soldiers; to build castles and forts in all the places of its concession; to make peace or war with all kinds of people that are not Christians; and to obtain satisfaction by the force of arms from all those who prejudice them, or interrupt their commerce.

AND the twenty-sixth empowers it likewise to arrest and secure all the subjects of his Britannic majesty, who shall trade in Indian or English vessels, or who shall dwell in any of the places of its concession, without a special licence from the said company.

AFTER the publication of this charter, the parliament seemed to dislike the exclusive privilege granted by the sixteenth article; which was no novelty, for it had been already agitated in the reign of James the First; but this prince, fearing to risque his authority, chose rather to repeal a like privilege, which he granted to the colonies of Virginia, than to uphold the royal prerogative.

THE shares, or subscriptions, of the company, were originally only of 50 l. sterling, but, the directors having a considerable dividend to make in 1676, it was agreed to join the profit to the original, instead of withdrawing it; whereby the shares were doubled, and became of 100 l. sterling. The first capital was only 369,891 l. 5 s. which, being thus doubled, amounted to 739,782 l. 10 s. to which, if 963,639 l. the profits of the company to the year 1685, be added, the whole stock will be 1,703,422 l.

THE company, having sustained several losses by the Dutch and the subjects of the Great Mogul, began to be in a declining way at the Revolution; when the war with France put it into so desperate a condition, that appearing scarce possible to be supported, a new one was erected.

THE rise of this new company was occasioned by the great case of the old company being taken into consideration by the parliament; which case had been depending several years; and because of its intricacy, had been first referred by the parliament to the king, and by him back to the parliament again, in the year 1698; when the old company offered to advance 700,000 l. at 4 per cent. for the service of the government, in case the trade to India might be settled on them exclusive of all others; and the parliament seemed inclined to embrace their proposal. But another number of merchants, of whom Mr. Shepherd was the chief, and who were supported by Mr. Montague, chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to the house of commons to raise two millions at eight per cent. upon condition the trade to India might be settled on the subscribers exclusive of all others: they also proposed, that these subscribers should not be obliged to trade in a joint stock; but



but if any members of them should afterwards desire to be incorporated, a charter should be granted to them for that purpose. The house judged this new overture not only to be more advantageous to the government, but also very likely to settle this controverted trade on a better foundation than it was on before; a bill was, therefore, brought in for settling the trade to the East-Indies, according to these limitations, and some further resolutions.

THE old East-India company presented a petition against this bill; which, notwithstanding, was passed in favor of the new company, who obtained a charter of incorporation, dated Sept. 5, 1698, by the name of "The general society intituled to the advantages given by an act of parliament, for advancing a sum not exceeding two millions for the service of the crown of England" Whereby the sum total of all the subscriptions was made the principal stock of the corporation; and the new company was invested with the same privileges as were granted to the old company, by the charter of king Charles the Second. However, the old company was, by the act indulged with leave to trade to the Indies until Michaelmas, 1701.

THE fund of this new company became so considerable, and subscriptions were carried on with such facility, that, in less than two years, the company put to sea forty ships equipped for its trade; which was double the number employed by the old company in the most flourishing times of its commerce; and it sent annually a million sterling in specie to the Indies; whereas the old company had never sent above 500,000 l.

THE two companies subsisted a few years in a separate state; when, having a due regard to their common interests, and for the prevention of several

ral inconveniencies that might otherwise have happened, both to themselves and the nation in general, they agreed upon several articles for the union of the said companies.

ACCORDINGLY, in the year 1702, a new charter of union was granted the two companies by queen Anne, under the name of, "The united company of merchants trading to the East-Indies," which was essentially the same with those of king Charles, and king William; because, by the union of the two companies, they have adopted all the regulations made for the government of the old company: so that the united company should rather be deemed the old company continued, than a corporation erected upon a different establishment. Which charter being since expired, another charter, with new powers, was granted them in 1730; and, in the 17th year of king George the Second, was continued until the 25th of March, 1780; when, on three years notice, and repayment of the capital stock borrowed by the government and the annuities, the company's right to the sole and exclusive trade to the East-Indies is to cease and determine.

To the 2,000,000 l. advanced by the new company to William the Third, the united company, in the sixth year of queen Anne, lent the government 1,200,000 l. more; which made their whole loan amount to 3,200,000 l.; being, what may properly be called, the capital stock of the company: the first loan of two millions was secured by the government out of the duties upon salt; and the additional stamp duties granted in the 9th and 10th years of William the Third, chargeable with the payment of 160,000 l. as an yearly fund for paying the interest at 8l. per cent. but, by the act of the 3d of George the Second, this annuity of  
160,000 l.

160,000 l. was reduced to 128,000 l. and transferred as a charge upon the aggregate fund; and in 1749, it was reduced to 3l.  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. until Christmas 1757, and after that to 3l. per cent. But besides this 3,200,000 l. there is a million more due by the public to this company, being lent by them at 3l. per cent. in the said 17th year of his late majesty.

FOR the oeconomy and policy of the united company, all persons, without exception, are admitted members of it, natives and foreigners, men and women; with this circumstance, that 500 l. in the stock of the company gives the owner a vote in the general courts, and 2000 l. qualifies him to be chosen a director. The directors are 24 in number, including the chairman and deputy chairman, who may be re-elected for four years successively. They have a salary of 150 l. a year, and the chairman of 200 l. The meetings, or courts of directors, are to be held at least once a week; but are commonly oftener, being summoned as occasions require.

OUT of the body of directors are chosen divers committees, who have the peculiar inspection of certain branches of the company's business; as the committee of correspondence, committee of buying, committee of treasury, committee of warehouses, committee of shipping, committee of accounts, committee of private trade, committee of house, and committee to prevent the growth of private trade.

THIS company is not only granted an exclusive privilege of trade to the Indies, and other extraordinary concessions from the government, by the charter; but there are also several acts of parliament made in its behalf, whereby all the British subjects are restrained from going to the East-Indies;

or

or from procuring, or acting under, any foreign commission, for sailing to, or trading there; or from subscribing to, or promoting, any foreign company, for trading there, under severe penalties; though, upon the whole, this trade is monopolized by the company, and is generally esteemed highly injurious to the British navigation, as all monopolies are to that of every trading country. This is evident from the behavior of the parliament in the reign of Charles the Second, who, was more resolute, or more happy, than his grandfather; so that the question was debated in the court of common pleas, where it was decided in favor of the king.

I SHALL conclude my account of this company, with observing, that this, as well as every company which is designed for building forts and making settlements in foreign countries, should have been at first incorporated for ever; because it is not to be expected, that a corporation will be at any great expence in building forts or making settlements, when they are in danger of their corporation's being dissolved, before they can reap any benefit from the expence they have been at. This was foreseen by the administration at the end of queen Anne's reign; therefore they established the South-Sea company for ever, though they went a little too far in giving that company a perpetual exclusive privilege; for though this may be necessary at first, it ought never to be made perpetual. From an act made in the following session relating to the East-India company, it would seem, that there was then likewise a design to have established that company for ever; but how that design came to be laid aside does not appear; for had it been carried into execution, the French, in the last war, would not probably

bably have found it so easy to make themselves masters of Madrafs: at least, if they had, the managers for the company would have been much more to blame.

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## C H A P. VII.

*Of the other EUROPEAN companies trading to the EAST-INDIES. The DUTCH East-India company. The FRENCH East-India company. DANISH East-India company. OSTEND East-India company. East-India company of SWEDEN. EMBDEN East-India, or PRUSSIAN ASIATIC company.*

## R E M A R K S.

THE Portuguese first sailed round the Cape of Good Hope to the East-Indies, in the year 1498; and the first settlement they made on the continent of India was at Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, in the year 1502. The English and Dutch did not attempt to trade to India till about the year 1600, and then only to the islands at first; though it is true, several of their commanders had, before that time, been sent out upon discoveries, and sailed round the globe, through the streights of Magellan, particularly Sir Francis Drake in the year 1586, and Oliver Noort in 1598. Besides, in the year 1595, the province of Holland fitted out four ships for discovery, which sailed to Bantam, in the island of Java, and brought back with them such samples of the goods of the east, as induced the United Provinces to erect one general company for that trade, in the year 1594; but the Portuguese had, for 100 years, engrossed all the rich

rich trade of India to themselves, except that the Spaniards had a little interrupted their commerce, in the Moluccas and the Philippines, on their discovering a passage to the Indies through the South-Sea, in the year 1520; though, when the other European powers became sensible of the value and facility of this commerce, they soon began to participate the emoluments, by erecting the following companies.

THE DUTCH EAST-INDIA COMPANY commenced in 1594, in the midst of those military confusions attendant on the revolt of the United Provinces from the allegiance of Spain. The Spaniards having shut up all their ports against these new republicans, whom they looked upon as rebels, and having even prohibited them all commerce to the East and West-Indies, of which they were then, in some sense, the masters; necessity inspired some Zealanders to go in quest of a new passage for China and the East-Indies by the N. E. and to coast, if possible, along Norway, Muscovy, and Tartary.

THIS enterprise was undertaken in 1594, 1595, and 1596, by fitting out ships three different times, but all without any success; the extreme colds of Nova Zembla, and the impenetrable ice of Weigats, having either destroyed the ships sent there, or discouraged the adventurers.

WHILST this passage was unsuccessfully attempting, a second company was formed at Amsterdam; which, under the direction of Cornelius Houteman, sent four ships, in 1595, by the usual way which the Portuguese went, with orders to conclude treaties with the Indians, for the trade of spice and other commodities; but more especially in the places where the Portuguese were not as yet established.

THIS small fleet returned, two years and four months after its departure, with little or no gain  
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in reality ; but with good information, and large hopes.

THE old company, and a new one just established at Amsterdam, being incorporated, they fitted out a fleet of eight vessels, which set sail, under admiral James Vaneck, from the Texel in 1598 ; and another fleet of three ships was fitted out, which weighed anchor the 4th of May 1599. These were followed by several others ; and so many new companies were erected at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other places, that the States-General apprehended they must prove detrimental to each other ; which fear, justified by some sad consequences, caused the directors of all the different companies to assemble : the result of this meeting was the union of all, which was confirmed by the states the 20th of March 1602 ; whose success was very great, both on account of the immense riches brought into the United Provinces, or the kingdoms and states which this company subdued in so many different countries of Asia.

THE first fund of this company consisted of 6,459,840 guilders, or 565,236l. sterling ; of which Amsterdam advanced 3,674,915 ; Zealand 1,333,882 ; Delft 470,000 ; Rotterdam 177,400 ; Hoorn 266,868 ; and Enchuysen 536,775 : and the first grant of the states was for 21 years, to commence from the date of the grant, which was the same with that of the confirmation.

THE company is governed by sixty-five directors, divided into thirteen different chambers. The chamber of Amsterdam has 18 directors, the chamber of Zealand 12, the chambers of Delft and Rotterdam 14 : those of Enchuysen and Hoorn 14 ; those of Haerlem, Leyden, Dort, Tergow, the provinces of Guelderland, Friesland, and Utrecht, each of them one director.

SEVENTEEN directors were also chosen from among the sixty-five, for the common affairs of the chambers; eight out of the chamber of Amsterdam, four out of that of Zealand, two out of those of Delft and Rotterdam, and two out of those of Enchuysen and Hoorn, the seventeenth being chosen alternately out of Zealand, the Meule, or North Holland; and it is this second direction that regulates the number, the fitting out, and the departure of ships.

THE company is privileged to contract alliances with the princes whose dominions are eastward of the Cape of Good Hope; to build fortresses there, and to establish governors, garrisons, and officers of justice and police: but the treaties are concluded in the name of the states; in whose name all officers, both military and civil take their oaths.

At the expiration of each grant, the company is obliged to obtain a new one, which has happened four times since the first was granted; but the renewal of grants costs the company considerable sums of money.

By the grant of 1698, which was also confirmed in 1717, all the subjects of the States-General are prohibited the sending of ships, and sailing throughout the whole extent of the company's concession, or carrying on a trade therein, either directly or indirectly; as also associating with strangers for this trade, or serving in their vessels.

NOTHING can be more wisely and prudently concerted, than the police and discipline, whereby every thing is regulated in this company, either for the election of the directors of the chambers, or for the fitting out, and returns of ships; the choice of the seventeen particular directors, the sale of merchandises, and the dividends of the profits; or, lastly, for the conduct of their sovereignties in the Indies.

THIS company has several large settlements, and many factories, for the support of their trade. They are in possession of the Cape of Good Hope, which serves them, as St. Helena does the English East-India company, for supplying their ships with water and other refreshments in their voyage. The island of Mauritius served them also for the same purpose. They have a factory at Mocha in Arabia, and two others at Gombroon and Ormus in Persia, as also one at Ispahan, the capital of that empire. They have likewise factories at Barak, Choule near Bombay, Rigapore Dunde, Bassaloco, or Baynenar, and Bodven, on the proper coast of India; at Cananore, Pamari, Crananera, Cochin, Porchatt, Carnapole, Quilon, and Tegapatan, on the coast of Malabar; at Negapatan, Porta Nova, Sadrassapatan, Cabelon, Pellicat, Catelore, Petipoly, Masualapatan, and Bimlipatan, on the coast of Coromandel; at Balasore, and Piple, farther up the coast towards Bengal; at Basnagul, Malda, Huegley, and Dacca, in Bengal; and at Patna, up the Ganges.

THEY have also a settlement in the kingdom of Aracan: they trade along the coast up to Siam, where they have the city of Malacca; and from thence they trade up to China.

THEY engross the whole trade of the island of Ceylon; they have some trade in the islands of Sumatra and Borneo: but the whole trade of Java, and the Molucca islands, is in their possession; as is also some part of the trade of the Celebes and Banda islands; besides, they are the only persons who trade to Japan: so that no less than 40 factories, and 25 fortresses, are reckoned belonging to this company in the East-Indies; who employ, in this long and painful navigation, above 150 ships, from 30 to 60 guns, manned with 25,000

sailors, comprehending officers, soldiers, and mariners ; besides 12,000 troops of their own republic, to garrison the forts.

THOUGH all these factories are very considerable, they are not to be compared with Batavia, the center of the company's commerce ; and the Cape of Good Hope, the staple, or rather the place of refreshment, for all its shipping, either going or coming.

THE Dutch East-India company carry out great quantities of specie, and of European goods, but chiefly of the latter, to India. From China, they bring home silks, both raw and wrought, China and Japan ware, tea, and arrack ; from Bengal and Patna, silks, raw and wrought, diamonds, indico, and coris ; from the other ports of India, silks, calicoes, muslins, and great variety of other manufactures of cotton and flax ; also shell-lack, stick-lack, red-wood, salt-petre, dying stuffs, and many drugs ; besides coffee, and some drugs, from Persia.

FROM the island of Japan they bring home all kinds of Japan work, and lacquered ware ; as also gold-dust : from the Moluccas, they bring cloves : from the Banda islands, nutmegs and mace : from the Celebes, pepper and opium : from the Sunda islands, pepper, gold, coffee, and canes : and cinnamon from Ceylon.

THESE commodities being articles of luxury, and too great for the consumption of the parsimonious Dutch, they export them to all parts of the world where they have any commerce ; particularly to France, Spain, Germany, Italy, Turkey, Dantzic, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia.

FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY. The proposals of this company in 40 articles, bearing date the 26th May 1664, were presented to the king at  
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Fountainbleau, who confirmed them, by his letters patent, in form of an edict, and had them ratified in parliament the 1st of September following.

THEIR import, among other things, was, that the company should be formed of his majesty's subjects, even of the nobles, without any dread of derogating from their nobility.

THAT each share could not be less than a thousand livres, nor the augmentations under 500.

THAT strangers, of any prince or state whatsoever, might be incorporated with the company; and that those who should have in it 20,000 livres, should be reputed denizens, and in that respect should enjoy all the privileges of real subjects.

THAT a chamber of general direction should be established, composed of 21 directors; whereof 12 should be of the city of Paris, and 9 others of the provinces; and that the said chamber might establish particular ones, when and where it should judge proper.

THAT his majesty empowered the company to navigate solely, exclusive of his other subjects, in all the Indian seas, east and south, during the term of 30 years.

THAT it should have for ever the possession of the island of St. Laurence, or Madagascar, and of all the other lands, places and isles, it might conquer from the enemy, and the natives, to enjoy them in all property, seignoury, and justice, without reserving any thing therein, but sole fealty and liege-homage, with the duty, rent, or service, of a crown and scepter of gold, weighing 100 marks, upon each demise of a king: granting him also the power of nominating and establishing all officers, military and civil; though the company might have it in its power to nominate ambassadors in his majesty's

name to the Indian kings and princes, and make treaties with them.

THAT the company might send the species of gold or silver it should have an occasion for in its commerce, notwithstanding the prohibitions enacted by the laws and ordinances of the kingdom ; and this by a particular permission, and a writing granted in its favor.

THAT his majesty should advance, or defray out of his own revenues, the fifth part of the expence necessary for the three first equipments ; for which he was not to be reimbursed till the expiration of the first ten years, and without interest ; and in case it should be found, by a general accompt, that the company had sustained a loss in its capital, the loss should devolve upon the sum advanced by his majesty.

THAT the Indian merchandises consumed in France should pay but the half of the duties regulated by the tariffs ; and that those designed for other countries, and the exempted provinces, either by sea or land, should pay no duties of importation or exportation ; as also the timber, and other necessary articles for the building and fitting out of the company's ships.

LASTLY, That his majesty should pay the company 50 livres per ton for the merchandise its ships should carry into the countries of its concession, and 75 livres for those brought back and discharged in the kingdom.

His majesty also granted the company a seal, having for legend, *Ludovici XIV. Franciæ et Navarræ Regis sigillum, Usus supremi consilii Galliarum Orientalis* ; and for arms, an azure globe and flower-de-luce of gold, with this inscription, *Florebo quocumque ferar* ; the supporters being two figures, one representing Peace, and the other Plenty.



THE extraordinary funds established, whereof the king advanced the greater part, and which amounted to no less than 7 or 8 millions of livres, though these were to have been 15: the departure of several fleets, either for the establishment projected at Madagascar, which was to be the company's chief staple, or for the establishment of the factories it was desirous of having in the Indies; and lastly, the union and assiduity with which the French directors endeavored to uphold this enterprise, gave great ideas of this company, and vast hopes of success.

But the ill choice of this first staple in an unwholesome island, inhabited by cruel and unconquerable people, less rich, and less fruitful than it was believed to be upon exaggerated relations; the death of the most able and experienced directors sent to the Indies, the division of others; a breach of faith in M. Caron, a Dutchman, inconsiderately set over affairs in so distant a country; the wars of 1667 for the rights of the queen, and of 1672 against Holland; the little success of the squadron commanded by M. Deshayes, whereof a part perished in 1672, at Trinquimale, in the island of Ceylon, where the said Caron had unadvisedly engaged; and the other at the taking, defence, and surrender of St. Thomas, in 1673 and 1674, brought affairs into such a situation, that what subsisted afterwards of this company, or rather those formed out of its ruin, which the traders of St. Malo supported with some success to 1719, were no ways considerable.

THE company being thus incapacitated from fulfilling its engagements, and continuing its commerce, it was thought adviseable to give it a new form, whereby its credit, if possible, might be re-animated: to succeed wherein, a general assembly of the parties was held on the 29th of May 1684,

pursuant to a *lettre de cachet* of the 17th of April preceding.

THIS *lettre de cachet* ordained the election of a sufficient number of directors to fill the place of the deceased, or of those who could no longer acquit themselves of that function. It nominated commissioners, for the most part the same that had been nominated in 1675, to examine the company's books and accompts; signifying withal, that it was his majesty's intention a provision should be made of suitable gratifications for the directors, both of the general chamber of Paris, and the particular ones of the provinces.

THE new directors being chosen pursuant to the *lettre de cachet*, the company's books were laid before the king's commissioners, and the director's gratifications being debated upon, were fixed at 3000 livres for each director of the general chamber of Paris, and 1000 livres for each director of the particular ones.

BUT this assembly, and the examination of the company's books, having served only to disclose its desperate condition, and the impossibility of subsisting without being reduced to another form, his majesty ordained, by an arret of his council of the 3d September of the same year, a speedy convocation of a new assembly; wherein, in presence of his commissioners, the books of the Indian factories, as also the clerks of the said factories newly arrived, should be heard and examined; and that out of the said books, and other memoirs, a new book of accompts of the quality and value of the company's effects should be made; which, when inspected into by his majesty, with the advice of his commissioners, he might be in a condition to resolve upon what was to be done.

IN consequence of this assembly, it appeared, by the company's accompts, that its funds amounted  
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in all only to the sum of 3,353,966 livres, or about 136,255 l. sterling; and that only 80 actionists had afforded their fourths over and above; whereupon the king issued out a declaration, in the month of February 1685, whereby it was ordained,

1st, THAT the edict of the month of September 1664, should be executed, pursuant to its form and tenor, for the benefit of the antient actionaries, who should have furnished their fourth over and above, as well for the fourth remaining of their actions, as for their new fund of the fourth over and above.

2d, THAT those who had not paid the said fourth, should forfeit all the interest they had therein.

3d, THAT the sum of 728,975 livres, to which the supplement amounted, and unpaid by the actionists, should be advanced by those nominated by his majesty, who were to take the place of those that had not supplied the said fourth, with the injunction of paying them a like sum of 728,975 livres for the fourth, to which all the actions had been reduced.

4th, THAT those who contributed new funds for this reimbursement, and for the continuation of the company's commerce, should be paid the interest of their said funds and reimbursements, upon the footing of payment used in maritime commerce, that is, upon the proviso of profits that might issue from the said commerce.

5th, THAT, to take care of the company, and its trade, 12 directors should be chosen from among the actionists of the city of Paris, who should have at least furnished 30,000 livres of new funds.

6th, THAT, upon the decease of any of the said directors, others should be nominated, by a plu-

rality of voices, as well from among the surviving directors, as from among the actionists, who should have furnished at least 20,000 livres of actions.

7th, THAT the said directors should have the sole management of the affairs, and commerce of the company; his majesty suppressing all the directors nominated in the general chamber of Paris, and in all the other chambers of the kingdom.

8th, THAT in case the company was willing to keep the island of Madagascar, it should be held pursuant to the fealty, homage, and duties, owing to his majesty; or, on the contrary, should be acquitted and discharged from the said fealty.

BUT the company renounced its right to this island in 1686; when by an arret of council of the 4th January of the same year, Madagascar was united to the crown.

It was upon this foundation that the company subsisted, and was governed till 1719; at which time it was incorporated with the company of the west, known afterwards by the name of the Indian company.

IN the month of April 1687, the number of directors was increased to twenty; which new directors were to pay for their reception 40,000 livres, if they had already 20,000 livres of actions in the company, and 60,000 livres, if they had no actions therein.

By this new form given to the company, its funds amounted to 2,100,000 livres, or about 104,000 l. sterling; whereof the directors advanced 1,200,000, being 60,000 livres each, and the actionists about 900,000 livres.

It seemed, that, under these new directors, the company became somewhat vigorous; and, in effect, its commerce being prosperous, two dividends were

were made for its actionists in 1687 and 1691, amounting together to 30 per cent.

AFTER 1691, its commerce was greatly interrupted by the war that followed the revolution in England, and that wherein France was engaged for the Spanish succession.

IMMEDIATELY after the peace of Ryswick, the directors made more extraordinary efforts than ever before; but here may be properly dated the epocha of the company's fall, the war of 1700 having endangered it to such a degree, that when it was incorporated 19 years afterwards with the company of the west, its debts, contracted both in the kingdom and in the Indies, amounted to upwards of ten millions of livres, or about 500,000*l*. sterling.

It seems that, in 1701, the company having represented to the ministry its unhappy situation, obtained from his majesty a loan of 850,000 livres, provided that each of the directors would augment their fund to the amount of 40,000, and the actionists to 50 per cent.

THE execution of these conditions caused great troubles among the directors and actionists; the former accepting them, and the latter refusing to execute them, notwithstanding two arrets of council, of the 21st February, and 16th May 1702, that authorised the result of the general assembly held the 24th January of the same year.

LASTLY, in 1704, all contestations were terminated by an arret of council, of the 1st of April; which, notwithstanding all other arrets since that of the 16th of May 1702, ordained, that all the company's actionists should be interested in its commerce, both for the dividing of profits, and the sustaining of losses, each with regard to their fund, as well for the past, as for the time to come.

THAT



THAT to be acquainted with the state of the company's affairs, the directors should immediately, and above all things, give in the accompts of their commercial transactions.

THAT, for the future, the actionists need not be engaged in any new loans, unless the deliberations were signed by three actionists from among the five that should be nominated by them for the examination of the said accompts; and in case of refusal, the parties should refer the matter to the *Sieur Pontchartrain*, according to whose report his majesty would proceed to a decision.

THIS stating of accompts reviving the directors and actionists contestations, and the company's affairs being daily upon the decline; two arrets were issued out, one of the 6th, and the other of the 12th of November 1708.

THE first arret ordained, that within two months time, a general assembly of the company's directors and actionists should be held, in presence of the *prevot de merchants*, to expedite whatever was necessary for the upholding and augmenting of the commerce of the said company, that his majesty might be in a condition to know what regulations should be made.

THE second ordained the execution of the former, and superseded all pursuits, compulsions, and executions, upon the company's effects, on account of its debts, and upon the persons and goods of the directors. Yet the creditors might indemnify themselves in the council, and might make therein whatever demand they should judge proper; with a prohibition of endeavoring to obtain justice by any other means, upon pain of nullity.

BUT things being not disposed as yet, to erect a new East India company in France, and the ministry willing that the French should continue their com-



commerce there with some reputation, the court allowed the company's directors to treat with the rich traders of St. Malo, and to give up to them their privilege upon certain conditions: in whose hands it was that the French trade began to flourish in the Indies, till this company was incorporated with that of the west in 1719.

It should be observed, that, for a considerable time, the East India company was allowed to share its privilege with others, through the hopes that the profits accruing from its treaties might be a support to its commerce, or at least that it might have wherewithal to pay in France the interests of so many bills, and the credit of renewing them.

THE first of these treaties was of the 4th January 1698, with the Sieur Jourdan, and his associates, for the Chinese trade; the second with the Sieur Crozat, and his company, in the month of December 1708, authorised by an arret of the 15th of the same month.

By this last treaty, the directors of the company allowed the Sieur Crozat to send to the Indies, in the company's name, two ships, upon proviso that the company should have 15 per cent. from the sale of the effects brought back by these ships, without any deduction: as also 2 per cent. accruing from the prizes the said ships might make beyond the line; with liberty for the said company to bring back in these two ships, freight free, to the amount of ten ton of Indian goods; the company reserving for itself the duty of tonnage, as well going as coming, granted by his majesty; that is, the duty of 50 livres per ton of the merchandises exported by these ships into the countries of its concession, and 75 livres per ton for those brought back to be unladen in the country; which his majesty acceded to by way of gratification for the company.

THE conditions of the treaty with Jourdan were much the same with those of the Sieur Crozat.

PONICHERRY, which the French usually call Pontichery, or Pondicherry, is their chief Indian factory; the residence of the director-general of the company, and the center of their commerce: their other establishments being only factories, where few clerks are left, very often but one, except that of Surat, which is pretty considerable.

THE company secured Pondicherry in 1688, by a fort flanked with four towers; upon which was a battery of 24 pieces of cannon, with a good garrison.

THE Hollanders besieged it in 1693, and took it after a long siege: during which the Sieur Martin, director-general, who, two years before, was complimented with letters of nobility from the king, and who was afterwards of the order of St. Michael, signalized himself greatly, and obtained for himself and his garrison a very honorable capitulation, besides several advantageous articles for the company.

PONDICHERRY was four years after restored to the French by the treaty of Ryswick, and is, to this day, their chief establishment in the Indies: but the English, in the year 1748, under the conduct of admiral Boscawen, unsuccessfully attempted the reduction of it. The commodities imported to France by the French East India company, are the same as those imported into England by the English East India company.

DANISH EAST INDIA COMPANY. It is but of late that the Danes undertook long voyages, at least for the Indies; their flags making no appearance in the gulph of Bengal, and about the coasts of Pegu, till near the middle of the 17th century. Their chief factory is at Tranquebar, or Trincombar,

bar, where they send two or three ships yearly, and where they have a considerable fortress; but they have lately extended their trade to China, and appointed Altena, near Hamburg, for the port where the East India commodities are to be unloaded, and public sales made of them.

OSTEND EAST INDIA COMPANY. As soon as the Spanish Netherlands were yielded to the emperor by the treaty of Rastadt, the merchants of Ostend, Antwerp, and some other towns of Flanders and Brabant, thought of reaping some advantage from the protection and power of their new master, for the establishment of their commerce in the East Indies.

THEIR first setting out was without authority and letters-patent; yet with the hopes, at their return, of being made a regular company, like the English, Dutch, and French.

BUT the infant commerce of this company was immediately troubled by the Dutch; who, the 19th of December 1718, took, upon the coasts of Africa, an Ostend vessel richly laden, though protected by a passport from the emperor.

TOWARDS the end of the year 1719, the emperor allowed the directors to receive subscriptions, and began to encourage the subscription of actionists: he also granted a deduction of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of all the duties accruing to him from the commodities imported by the company's ships, besides several other privileges they were made to expect; and, about the same time, he demanded satisfaction from the States-General for the seizure of the Ostend ship; but to no purpose, for the Dutch East India company seized another.

THE merchants of Ostend, by commission from the emperor, fitted out privateers to protect their commerce, took a Dutch ship, would not make restitution,

restitution, and, in despite of the Hollanders menaces, fitted out for the East Indies in 1720 five ships richly laden, and in 1721 six more; three for China, one for Mocha, one for Surat and the coast of Malabar, and the sixth for Bengal; their principal station in the Indies being at Colbon, 56 miles N. of Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel.

THE Dutch, on their side, to stop their progress, confiscated a ship fitted out for the East Indies by the traders of Bruges, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the imperial minister at the Hague.

THE English pirates having taken, in the seas of Madagascar, an Ostend ship richly laden, and bound for Europe; this new loss seemed to discourage the Imperial company: but upon the safe arrival of four others, in 1722, it found itself in a condition, not only to repair its losses, but also to continue its commerce with more success and reputation.

AT last his imperial majesty granted this company his letters-patent, in a most ample and authentic manner; the duration of its concession being 30 years, its limits the East and West Indies, with all the coasts of Africa, both beyond and on this side the Cape of Good Hope; as also all the ports, harbors, places, and rivers, where other nations had any freedom of trade.

THE company's fund was fixed at six millions of guilders, or about 475,000 l. sterling, and at 6000 actions, of 1000 guilders each.

THE news of these letters-patent made the English and Dutch unite to obtain their revocation; and the Dutch East India company presented two memorials on this head to the states; in the latter whereof, of the 9th August 1723, a liberty of disputing their rights by the force of arms was required.

quired. The Ostend company founded themselves upon the natural liberty which all nations have of trading wherever it seems convenient, unless some particular convention might deprive them of it; and the Dutch pretended that there was such a convention between them and those of Ostend, specified by the treaties of barrier, and that of Munster.

THE courts of London and Paris, whose subjects had been allowed, by treaty, to import silks into Germany, and the emperor's hereditary dominions, backed the remonstrances of the republic; and France thought it necessary to hinder her traders to interest themselves in this company; for which purpose the French monarch issued out a declaration, of the 16th August 1723, among other things, imposing a penalty of 3000 livres, a confiscation of all funds and effects in the said company, and three years banishment in case of a second offence; which example was followed in Great Britain.

THE emperor, continuing his utmost efforts to support the new company, entered into a treaty with Spain in 1725, whereby the Spanish monarch engaged to allow greater advantages in trade to the imperialists than to any other nation, particularly to the Ostend company. Whereupon the French insinuated, that there were still some further secret articles, much more prejudicial to the trade of Britain than those that appeared; which induced the British ministry to enter into an alliance with them, in opposition to that of Vienna; whereby the contracting parties guarantied their respective rights and privileges in relation to trade, which struck chiefly at the Ostend company; and the Dutch were afterwards induced to accede to this treaty, with a view to prevent the trade of this company



company to the East Indies; while Great Britain commenced hostilities against Spain in the West Indies: so that the emperor being prevailed on by the Dutch, who acted as mediators, to consent that the charter should be suspended for seven years, preliminaries for a general peace were signed at Paris, in May 1727, between the allies of Vienna, and those of Hanover; since which time, the Ostend company has never been revived.

**EAST INDIA COMPANY OF SWEDEN.** In the year 1730, a Dutchman, named Van Asper, who had projected the same thing in Denmark, proposed the erecting of an East India company in Sweden; which being approved of, the king took upon himself to be its protector; and when the Dutch, who apprehended this would be as prejudicial as the Ostend company had been to their trade, complained of it, they were given to understand, that commerce was open to all nations, and that the Swedish kingdom had an equal right to it with others; since which time the Swedes have sent several ships to the Indies; and have been so successful in this trade, as to be under no necessity of purchasing the merchandise of India from their European neighbors, as they formerly did, unless it be the fine spices; which the Swedes, and all other nations, are obliged to purchase of the Dutch, who have robbed the rest of the world of them, and consequently set what prices they please upon those commodities.

**EMBDEN EAST INDIA, or PRUSSIAN ASIATIC COMPANY.** His Prussian majesty, sensible of the advantages resulting from a maritime interest, granted in 1751 a patent for 20 years, to Henry Thomas Stuart, and company, for establishing a Prussian Asiatic company at Embden, an imperial city, and port-town of Germany, in the circle of Westphalia;



Westphalia; empowering it to send an indefinite number of ships annually to Canton in China; which grant was solemnly registered; and such effectual means were concerted for the prosecution of the design, that the adventurers were perfectly satisfied; for his majesty not only issued his letters patent for making the port of Embden a free port, but ordered memorials to be presented to the maritime powers, and such other princes whose subjects traded to the East Indies, concerning the navigation of the ships belonging to the Embden company: upon which the States-General of the United Provinces declared, that his majesty's ships should have the same liberty as those of other nations, to trade to all the ports, except those which the Dutch East India company have the sole right of trading to: that they should be also at liberty even to put into those ports to refit, after bad weather, or to get provisions and water, in case they were in distress for them: but that, as the subjects of the Republic, employed in their India company, incur very severe penalties, by going into the service of any other power, they hoped his Prussian majesty would not permit such persons to sail in his ships to the East Indies, seeing, in such cases, the Dutch East India company could not avoid seizing them, and punishing them with the utmost rigor. The directors of this company resolved to send only two ships to China for the first year; and, upon the success of these, to regulate their future proceedings: accordingly one of their ships, called the king of Prussia, set sail from Embden on the 17th of February 1752; and as the other powers granted the same concessions with the Dutch, this company had more reason to expect a successful event than that of Ostend, which was circumvented by those very powers, who, in complaisance to his

Prussian majesty, granted to the Embden company what the emperor could never obtain for the other.

## REMARKS.

ONE of the reasons why the Dutch East India company flourishes, and is become more rich and powerful than all the others, is its being absolute, and invested with a kind of sovereignty and dominion, more especially over the many ports, provinces, and colonies, it possesses in those parts. For it appoints magistrates, admirals, generals, and governors; sends and receives embassies from kings and sovereign princes; makes peace and war at pleasure; and by its own authority administers justice to all; appoints tribunals to judge in their name, with plenary power and no appeal; punishes and remits offences; bestows rewards becoming the dignity of kings; settles colonies, builds fortifications, levies troops, maintains numerous armies and garrisons, fits out fleets, and coins money. And though there is acknowledged a dependance upon the States-General, it may be said they seldom exert their power; and while the republic preserves the right of sovereignty, it tacitly leaves the exercise and possession of it to the merchants of this company. These vast powers were, and are still, requisite to cherish and preserve this flourishing branch of trade: and the proprietors justly merited them; for by their own vigilance, care, and expence, they conquered, and preserve all the countries they possess in those parts of Asia, and their fortresses on the coast of Africa for the refreshment, refitting and protection of their ships.

THE power of the Dutch by sea and land is very great in the East Indies; where, by force, address, and alliances, they raised themselves, and still support a great superiority, in spite of the English,

English, Portuguese, and other Europeans, that have some trade there ; but so inconsiderable, that, all together, is not equal to what the Hollanders singly enjoy, and who could give law to the very English in 1662, obliging them to a peace very advantageous to Holland, and their East India company in particular, after a bloody and expensive war that arose from jealousy and rivalry in commerce. Therefore it may be for the advantage of England, France, and even Portugal, to tolerate and encourage other companies, from reasons of state, and self-preservation, which put all princes and republics upon reducing the power of such as aspire after universal dominion, or have already acquired it ; as the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Medes, Persians, Greeks, and Romans did, and against whom those nearest to danger usually form conspiracies, courting even distant alliances to ballance the great and ambitious power that threatens them ; and to reduce it to an equality, or even lower, that all may live secure, and confined within their own limits. If the power of the Dutch, though great in Europe, does not put princes and states upon their guard, they must possess a kind of universal monarchy or dominion in the southern provinces, islands, and seas of Asia, from Arabia to Japan ; subjecting, by all possible ways, many of the powers of Europe to their law, in every thing respecting that important branch of trade ; a thing which, beside the dishonor of it, very much interferes with their interest. For, in those parts, Holland commands and directs every thing at pleasure, bringing sovereigns under subjection, conquering or reducing large and plentiful provinces, after it laid the foundation of its empire upon the spoils of Portugal, and enlarged it by prescribing narrow limits to the jurisdiction and commerce of the

English, and disappointing or reducing that of the French and other Europeans. For this, and other reasons, good policy seems to suggest, that the English, French and Portuguese, interested and aggrieved, should unite, and not only tolerate, but encourage any proper new company, and receive it as an auxiliary and confederate power, to assist in humbling the pride of the Dutch, and weakening their universal dominion in the East Indies, that all may live independent, and not under a subjection that bears hard upon their honour and commerce.

THE East Indies is a bottomless pit for bullion, which can never circulate back to Europe; and when bullion fails, that trade must cease. That this is the present situation of all the kingdoms of Europe, with respect to the trade which they carry on with the East Indies, is also asserted by the marquis Jerome Belloni, a celebrated merchant and banker at Rome; and this for no other reason, than that immense gulph of passive commerce, wherein they are involved by means of the commodities which the Europeans import from those parts. For, according to this author, not only the great quantities of jewels and manufactures, with the numberless liquors and spices, the greatest part whereof the luxury and pride of men have raised to high prices, render that trade so exorbitant, that the great advantage which the Europeans receive from America, and the great quantities of gold and silver, and other useful things, which are brought from thence, are not sufficient to compensate the loss sustained by that excessively expensive trade; but even the many commodities which come from the East Indies to Europe, and those inexpressibly vast sums of money, besides some few sorts of European commodities, which  
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are exhausted by the importation of those East Indian goods, give just ground to make it a question, whether the money that is brought from America to Europe is more considerable, than that which is exported from Europe to the East Indies.

THE baron de Montesquieu, in his "Spirit of Laws," speaking of the trade of Europe in general to the East Indies, not only acknowledges this truth, but also gives reasons for it. "We at present, says he, carry on the trade of the Indies merely by means of the silver we send thither, which is exchanged for merchandises brought to the west. Every nation that ever traded to the Indies, has constantly carried bullion, and brought merchandises in return. It is nature itself that produces the effect. The Indians have their arts adapted to their manner of living. Our luxury cannot be theirs, nor their wants ours. Their climate hardly demands, or permits any thing which comes from ours. They go, in a great measure, naked; such cloaths as they have, the country itself furnishes; and their religion which is deeply rooted, gives them an aversion for those things that serve for our nourishment. Therefore they want nothing but our bullion, to serve as the medium of value; and for which they give us in return merchandizes, with which the frugality of the people, and the nature of the country, furnish them in great abundance."



## C H A P. VIII.

*Of ancient INDIA : its inhabitants ; their religion ; government ; and of the BRACHMANS.*

THE Greeks having heard that the southern Indians were black and swarthy, easily confounded them with the people of Ethiopia and of Colchis, and imagined that the first were a colony that had straggled from the east, as the Colchians were originally Ethiopian soldiers, whom Sesostris had left in that province to defend his conquests against the northern nations. Secondly, the Indies have ever been reckoned a country abounding in all sorts of riches ; and we know that Colchis had its mines of gold, and that Ethiopia produced the same animals which are to be seen in the Indies. There needed no more than this conformity, to give occasion to authors little versed in geography, to confound together such remote countries as Colchis, Ethiopia, and the Indies.

WE have no real knowledge of the last, but of those provinces and cities through which the army of Alexander passed, and which Arrian has described with all possible exactness. The Hyphasis became the boundary of his conquests, on account of the opposition the Macedonians made to his farther progress. He only passed it, in order to erect those superb altars in imitation of the columns of Hercules. As we are indebted to the expedition of that hero, for what knowledge we have of this country, such as it then was, so we are entirely ignorant of all that existed beyond it to the Ganges. Arrian makes mention of two cities, Minnagora and Barygaxa, both which he celebrates



lebrates for their commerce. That vast extent of country, now so famous, which stretches from the junction of all those rivers to the Indus, even to the bottom of the peninsula, was as little known to the ancients. They mention only the kingdoms of the Sabraques of the Sogdes, of Musican, of the Preotes, of the Sabians, and that of Patala. Some of the inhabitants they called Indo-Scythians.

ALL that country had the name of India within the Ganges; *India intra Gangem*. It contained one hundred and eighteen nations or provinces, in some of which were three hundred cities, as in the kingdom of Porus; in others much fewer, and there were princes who reigned only over two. About forty rivers are said to run through this country, most of them navigable, and all of them throw themselves into the Indus. After swallowing up so many others, we may form a judgment of its bigness, by that of the Hydaspes, whose channel is never less than twenty stadia, or a great league. What then must a river be, in which so many others lose themselves?

ALTHOUGH the Indians are descended from Shem, whose posterity preserved the memory of the true God for a longer time than those of Ham and Japhet; yet the darkness which spread itself over every human mind, effaced the idea which the Creator had imprinted there; and they transferred their homage to the sun, the moon, to trees, and other sensible objects. The day-star had one of the most magnificent temples that ever was built: the walls were of porphyry, covered within with plates of gold, on which were carved rays, that shone diverging every way from whatever side they were beheld. In the bottom of the temple was a figure of the sun, composed of an infinite number of different sorts of precious stones, dis-

posed in a very artificial manner ; and which one might have said came near the original ; if it was possible to imitate that wonder of nature. They paid their adoration to that star by dancing in a circle, in imitation of its course. This was the only idol which the Indians had among them, till being instructed by the Greeks in the worship of the heroes of fabulous antiquity, they consecrated an elephant, which they called Ajax, with two golden statues of Alexander, and two brazen ones representing Porus. However great the number of those princes of ancient India might be, no historian has given us a succession of them, and we know but a small part of their laws and customs. They were all obliged to make their appearance every day, in order to hear the complaints of their subjects, to judge of all differences arising among them, and to regulate the affairs of the state ; and they were not permitted to rise from the audience, even to take refreshment, before every thing was ended. They could do nothing without the advice of their council : but when more important affairs, or what related to religion, were under agitation, they were to consult the Brachmans, that is the sages, who again consulted the Augurs. The fidelity which they observed in their negotiations was inviolable ; and to express the sacredness of them, they gave their heralds the sign of an anchor, the symbol of their firmness and constancy.

In the kingdom of Musican, near the delta of the river Indus, luxury and effeminacy were carried to as great a height, as ever they had been among the Persians in the dregs of the last ages of their empire. The king was continually surrounded by a train of women, whose manners, actions, songs and conversation, inspired nothing but the most shameful pleasures.

ONE must be at a loss to understand, how, under princes so effeminate, so much order and discipline were nevertheless preserved in the state, that they were admired on that account by the most civilized foreign nations. But it must be remembered, that luxury was not predominant in all the courts. A wise senate presided over all the affairs of government: the numbers of it were chosen by the people: the king had only a voice in it; and, if that council was accused of error or injustice, the parties appealed to the people, who tried the cause afresh, and amended the sentence if necessary; in fine, the whole country was divided into seven classes, of which every one had its chiefs and superintendants, who restrained particulars within the bounds of their duty. The first of these classes was, that of the Brachmans, or Sages; the second of the husbandmen; the third, of the shepherds; the fourth, contained the merchants and tradesmen; the fifth, the soldiers; the sixth, the superintendants; and the seventh, the counsellors of the king and people.

THE prince was distinguished above the Brachmans, by nothing but his sceptre and the pomp of his purple. Their continual application in the search of truth, the purity of their manners, the retirement and austerity in which they lived, had acquired them all the honors and immunities which the priests enjoyed among the Egyptians, or the Magi among the Persians. These sages were of two sorts; the Brachmans properly so called, and the Germani or Samaneans: the first were of a particular family, and the last might be of any of the other orders.

THEY taught philosophy, the immortality of the soul, the motions of the heavenly bodies, the construction of the human body, and the secrets  
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of nature. They discoursed of every thing relating to government, the laws, the authority of the prince, and the rights of the people; in a word, they gave rules for the conduct of manners, that they might learn to lead a hard and austere life, which neither famine, solitude, the inclemency of the air, nor the rigor of the seasons, should disturb or incommode.

THEY were seen to pass the greatest part of the night and day in prayer, in singing songs and hymns in honor of the deity, and raising their hands to heaven when they offered up their vows for the prince, the people, and the goods of the earth. During the rest of the day they kept themselves retired in their cells, where they were employed in meditation on particular truths, in the study of philosophy, and in making experiments useful to the public. If in that interval they happened to spend too much time in conversation with their friends, they imposed on themselves the penalty of keeping silence for several days. Fasting and mortification was another exercise to which they thought themselves obliged.

A LIFE thus entirely taken up in prayer and contemplation, attracted the confidence of the people.

THE prince applied himself to them in difficult and extraordinary cases, to learn from them in what manner he should give judgment. He went to the place of their abode; he eat with them herbs, fruits, and lentile; but nothing which had life; and the stateliness of those philosophers was such, that they drew lots for their places, that they might not yield to him the pre-eminence. He thought himself too happy if they gave him a gracious reception. They suffered him to stay with them no longer than a day, and it was only during the night that they gave him audience.

THE last object of their philosophy respected the regulation of manners. They began their studies, as they said, by the knowledge of themselves, whether of the mind and dispositions, or of the body: but as their whole conduct manifested an inexhaustible fund of pride, their lights upon this point were turned into darkness. The result of their reflections upon themselves was to be persuaded, that out of their own sect there was nothing but ignorance, effeminacy, and corruption; to believe that nothing was concealed from them, not even the thoughts and name of a stranger; to pretend to inspiration from the deity and familiar conversation with him; to place themselves above the rest of mankind, and to look upon themselves as gods.

THAT pretended strength of mind to which philosophy carried them, rendered life and death equally indifferent. They looked upon the good or evil, the pleasure or pain which might happen to them, as dreams; since they passed so rapidly from one to the other. But they were ashamed of those distempers which brought a decay upon the body, and disturbed the operations of the mind, regarding this life as the first moment of our conception, and death as the day of our real birth.

WHEN they found themselves attacked by a severe indisposition, or worn out with old age, without hesitation, they put an end to their days by a voluntary death. They fitted up with their own hands the pile that was to serve them as an altar: they ascended it decked with their richest ornaments; and after having sung a few hymns, they lay down upon their faces, and suffered themselves to be reduced to ashes, without betraying the least sign of pain or sensibility. What a strange philosophy



sophy was that, which led men to their own destruction! "Equality, said the Brachman Dindimus to Alexander the Great, places us all in independence; it banishes from among us envy, jealousy, ambition and hatred. We have no tribunals, because we do nothing which deserves reprehension: and the justice in which we live, has not yet given rise to the establishment of the severe laws by which vice is punished among the rest of mankind. We are even afraid that by introducing them, they should give birth to the thoughts of that evil which they prohibit. Our only law is, not to violate that of nature. Thus shunning all manner of reproach, we are not under any necessity to pardon others, in the hope we may be entitled to a mutual indulgence. Much less do we purchase pardon or impunity by the force of money; such an act of grace granted through avarice, renders the judge more culpable than the criminal. Among us, idleness is severely punished; we dread voluptuousness as the source of all frailty. We love labor; as it exercises our bodies; and we detest the man, who is a slave to his lusts. Our business has no other object but to procure us necessaries: we abhor every other view, and we look upon it as the original of all evil. No land-mark or boundaries are to be seen in our fields for the distinction of property: we are convinced that is an usurpation contrary to nature; every one takes what he pleases of the products of the earth. We suffer the birds to fly unmolested, the beasts to range the fields, and the fish to swim in the bosom of the waters. We possess all we can desire, because we desire nothing beyond that which is necessary. We dread nothing so much as that insatiable desire to acquire property, which gives rise to a thousand cravings in the heart of man, and make him poorer from  
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day to day, in proportion to the increase of his riches. The sun warms us ; the rain and dew cool us ; the rivers quench our thirst ; the herbs and roots nourish us ; the earth affords us a bed : anxious cares interrupt not our repose ; independence delivers us from fear, and all kinds of subjection ; and we look upon one another as brothers whom nature has rendered equal, and as the children of one supreme God, our common Father, who ought to make us partakers of the same inheritance. The heavens supply us with our favorite spectacle : we admire with joy their order, œconomy, regularity, and motions. We are transported when we behold the sun flying in its purple car, spreading through every region his beaming rays of light, and returning every year to the place from whence he departed. From the heavens we pass to the view of nature, whose works appear to us equally beautiful, admirable and incomprehensible. The singing of the birds, the fountains, a flower, the stalk of an herb, ravishes and afford an inexhaustible fund of reflection. Contented with the natural growth of our own country, we wander not elsewhere in search of the different rarities which an unknown sky and climate produce. Nothing affects us but that which is convenient for us. We despise the flowers of eloquence, and condemn it as a pernicious art, only made use of to give falshood the appearance of truth to screen villainy, accuse innocence, and sometimes justify parricide. All our eloquence consists in being sincere, and adhering strictly to truth."

THIS is an abridgment of their manners ; and here follow the articles of their belief. The Brachmans held it as a maxim, " never to defile their sacrifices with blood, by slaughtering innocent victims : they adorned not their temples with gold or silver,

silver, or the splendor of precious stones. They thought it would be insulting the deity, should they attempt to give him that which he does not want; or to shew themselves as powerful as he, in ostentatiously displaying all the riches which he could have. God requires that we should honor him with a pure and not a bloody worship; and to be rendered propitious by the prayers and humiliations of men: he is that word itself by which he has created the visible world, by which he preserves, governs, and keeps it in being. He is a pure spirit, and consequently requires nothing but the offering of our good works, of our virtues and virtuous actions."

THIS country was liable to the same inundations with Egypt, and perhaps they were here more considerable. Whether from the snow of Paropamisus, Caucasus, mount Imaus, and the E-modes, or from the great quantity of rains that fell in the months of April, May, and June, it is certain, in that season the country was covered with water; and after they had gone off, it was difficult to distinguish the limits which divided the lands of each individual. To prevent disputes which might thence arise, there were men in all the districts, perfectly well acquainted with those matters, who marked over again those limits of the fields that had been effaced. As they preserve in Egypt a part of these waters in great lakes, to spread them afterwards over the land during those months in which there were no rains; it was the office of these inspectors to open these repositories when necessary, and distribute the waters in sufficient quantity.

## C H A P. IX.

*Of the ancient revolutions in INDIA, from the conquests of BACCHUS to those of ALEXANDER the GREAT. Of the settlement of the MAHOMEDANS in India : and of the MOGUL government. Of the climate of India, and its present inhabitants. With some remarks relative to trade.*

IT is certain, that the government of India was always monarchical ; that the kings were more numerous there than in any nation of the world ; and that some of them had acquired an empire over the rest. But we have no native writers of the country, who have given a succession of their ancient kings ; so that it is not surprising it should be entirely unknown to us. Pliny, who had before him different relations, informs us, that the Indians reckoned one hundred and fifty three kings from the invasion of Bacchus to that of Alexander, which were two memorable æras. This number of sovereigns, however, become suspicious, by the exaggeration of the interval which it places between the two conquerors, in reckoning upwards of six thousand four hundred years ; unless their years, at least in the primeval ages, were much shorter than ours, as they were among the ancient Egyptians.

FOR want of better lights, we must have recourse to some remarkable revolutions, which occasioned changes in the government of the western part of India. This country has always been the object of emulation to the heroes of Asia, Egypt, and Greece. Ancient tradition informs us, that Bacchus and Hercules carried their arms thither : but as there were several conquerors of that name, authors differ about those who penetrated first into  
the

the Indies ; and after long disquisitions, they leave us in the utmost uncertainties and difficulties upon that point. Yet it appears, that this Bacchus was the son of Semele ; though we can decide nothing about Hercules.

ALTHOUGH Arrian calls in question the expedition of Sesostris into these remote provinces, it is so formally attested by others, that we cannot refuse assent to their testimony. Indeed, it was attended with no consequence as to government, that prince not having rendered those nations tributary whom he had subdued, but resting contented with having brought them under his power : nor did his successors even attempt to preserve his conquests. But the expedition of Darius the son of Hytaspes was attended with more real consequences. Confounded at his bad success in the deserts of Scythia, he turned his arms against the Indians, whose country he entered by surprise, reduced them to his obedience, and imposed a large tribute upon the inhabitants, whom he obliged to serve as vassals, and in that quality we find them in the musters of the armies of Xerxes, Ochus, and Darius Codomannus, the last of that monarchy.

It is probable the son of Hytaspes carried his conquests no farther than the river Indus ; but Alexander extended his to the Hyphasis, where his troops refused to follow him any farther, and obliged him to return into Persia.

THE northern nations of India, although idolaters, were easily induced to embrace Mahomedanism, and are at this day the Affghams or Patans, who figure so much in all the late revolutions of Delhi.

THE armies which made the first conquests for the heads of the respective dynasties, or for other incurfours, left behind them numbers of the Mahomedans,



homedans, who, seduced by a finer climate and a richer country, forgot their own.

THE Mahomedan princes of India naturally gave a preference to the service of their own religion; who, from whatever country they came, were of a more vigorous constitution than the stoutest of the subjected nation; this preference has continually encouraged adventurers from Tartary, Persia, and Arabia, to seek their fortunes under a government, from which they were sure of receiving greater encouragement than they could expect at home.

FROM these origins, time has formed in India a mighty nation of near ten millions of Mahomedans, whom Europeans call Moors: to them, under the authority of the Great Mogul, the greatest part of Indostan is now subject; but although the reigning nation, they are out-numbered by the Indians ten to one.

THIS inferiority of number has obliged the Mahomedans to leave, in all parts of Indostan, many Indian princes in possession of their respective sovereignties, which they are permitted to govern without molestation, on condition they pay the stipulated tribute, and do not infringe any other of the articles of the treaties by which they or their ancestors have acknowledged the sovereignty of the Great Mogul. These Indian princes are called Rajas, or kings; and more than one half of the empire is at this day subject to these princes.

BESIDES the Indians, who reside in the territories of the Rajas, there are every where seen great numbers of them in those parts of the country, which are immediately subject to the Great Mogul, without the interposition of an Indian prince to govern them. They are the only cultivators of the land, and the only manufacturers of the im-

menſe quantities of linen which are made in the empire ; inſomuch, that at a diſtance from the capital cities, the great trading towns, the encampments of armies, and the high roads, it is rare to ſee in the villages or fields a Mahomedan employed in any thing excepting levying contributions, or acting in ſome other reſpect as an officer of the Great Mogul.

INTELLIGENT enquirers aſſert, that there are no written laws among the Indians ; but that a few maxims, tranſmitted by tradition, ſupply the place of ſuch a code in the diſcuſſion of civil cauſes ; and that the ancient practice, corrected on particular occaſions by the good ſenſe of the judge, decides abſolutely in criminal ones. In all caſes derived from the relations of blood, the Indian is worthy to be truſted with the greateſt confidence ; but in caſes of property, in which this relation does not exiſt, as a cunning ſubtil people, they are perpetually in diſputes ; and for the want of a written code, the juſtice or injuſtice of the deciſion depends on the integrity or venality of the judge. Hence the parties prefer to ſubmit their cauſe to the deciſion of arbitrators choſen by themſelves, rather than to that of the officers appointed by the government.

THE feudatory, by the acceptance of a certain title, and the penſion which accompanies it, acknowledges the great Mogul his heir. No man, from the vizier downwards, has any truſt of importance repoſed in him, but on theſe terms ; and, on his deceaſe, the whole of his property that can be found is ſeiſed for the uſe of the emperor, who gives back to the family what portion he pleaſes.

In theſe climates the name of ſnow and froſt is entirely unknown : the trees are never without leaves, and the fruit and bloſſoms alternately ſucceed



ceed each other : but here, as in other countries lying between the tropics, is a dry and wet season.

With the month of January returns the heat, which is cooled by breezes of the sea. The month of February is more hot, dry and unhealthful. In March the winds cool a little the scorching heat of the sun. April is still hotter, and in the months of May and June is a fine season ; but in which there blows a noxious land breeze, from seven in the morning till noon, as hot as the air of a furnace, which the strongest constitution has enough to do to bear, and Europeans can hardly at all. Some cause themselves to be sprinkled over from morning till night, to cool the scorching heat. Here the nights are as unhealthful as the days. It is no uncommon thing to see persons rise paralytic, who had laid down in perfect health, in a place exposed to the evening damps. Such a season would destroy the fruits of the earth, if amidst the heats of the month of June, the waters which rise in the mountains of Gad, did not gradually swell. They are at their height in July, at which time the air becomes temperate.

THE autumn is the winter of Malabar, which is as moderate as our spring. It rains, it is true, very much ; but all is green after the scorching heat of summer is over. The trees blossom in September, in which month and in October, is the first gathering of fruit, when the air is both cool and perfumed, occasioned by the aromatic plants in blossom, and commonly Europeans find this season the most healthful. The sick, indeed, especially hypochondriacs, are principally most affected in the months of November and December, when the cold and rains are at their height. In these months the Malabares, who go almost naked, shiver with cold, against which they do not know how to shelter themselves, either by cloaths,

or by burning wood, a very scarce commodity in this country, where they use little else, even in their kitchens, than dry cow dung. They are chilly in the same degree of heat, in which no Europeans can hardly bear to be covered.

THE soil is fertile almost throughout, occasioned by the overflowing of the rivers, as Egypt is by that of the Nile. When the heat is most intense the rivers swell, which is apparently occasioned by the melting of the snow in the mountains where they rise: for the warmest climates, as the isle of St. Thomas and upper Ethiopia, have Alps covered with snow and ice. Then the farmers open their sluices, and each turns his part of the river on his rice grounds. If the rivers fail, the country is all a barren wilderness, and the natives die, by thousands, of famine. This disaster is often occasioned by the animosities among themselves, which hinder them from keeping their sluices in repair.

HERE the air is very suffocating, and iron rusts ten times more than in Europe. The sun gives a stronger light at noon than the eyes can bear; even the stars shine brighter, and Venus has a very sensible shadow. The twilight is very short, and day and night appear almost at the same time. Before rain and fog there is commonly heard a hollow but very strong noise proceeding from the sea. There are often seen fiery meteors, resembling comets, but much lower in the air, through which they traverse very swiftly. The winds are so strong as to throw down houses and pluck up trees by the roots; and should any of these hurricanes overtake a man in the fields, he must lay himself along upon the ground.

THE natural color of the inhabitants is black: but the Bramins, and generally the Morattoes, are yellowish, little differing from a tawny Portuguese.

THE chief plant in Malabar is rice, by which alone almost the bulk of the people are maintained; it serves for bread even to the rich, as corn does not come to perfection. Their agriculture almost solely consists in the culture of rice, which is reckoned an honorable occupation, and such as follow it have precedence of mechanics. It is sown in the month of June, in a soil that is a mere puddle, occasioned by the overflowing of the rivers on their grounds. When it is a hand high they take it up, and replant it in just such another soil. Their harvest is gathered in the beginning of winter. Their plough is a very simple machine, and a branchy bough serves for a harrow. When the rice is dry, it is boiled in water or milk, which they eat heartily. They use another method, by distilling it and extracting an *aqua vitæ*, which administers to the debaucheries of Europeans: for the natives abhor excessive drinking, which must shorten life, by super-adding a new fire to that of the climate.

It is to be understood, that the English East India company have the sole monopoly of trading to the east of the Cape of Good Hope: but this is a very large and uncertain description of their bounds; for as the world is round, they might go to the east of the Cape of Good Hope if no land intervened, till they came unto it again; and at that rate, Chili, Peru, and other parts of America, would be within their monopoly. Therefore this must certainly be a vulgar error, and there must be other bounds prescribed by the charter; which probably does not extend to the Molucca islands, the spice islands, or the Philippines; for I do not find that, since the act of parliament, the company ever traded to any of those places; and yet the advantage would be very great.

We

# THE HISTORY OF

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## A P P E N D I X.

*A Journal from Aleppo, over the Desert to Basserah,*  
October 21, 1771.

AT two this afternoon took my departure from Aleppo for Basserah, in company with signior Andrea Johanna, when directing our course nearly S. S. E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E, at sun-set arrived at Tilleran, a small Turkish village, where we joined the caravan, which was encamped near that place. The wind westerly, with dark cloudy weather; the night cold, with drizzling rain.

22d.

This morning at eight mounted my camel, for the first time, his magnitude seemed highly disgusted with my hat, and twice ran away with me from the caravan, but was soon satisfied with this sport.

From Tilleran, directing our course about S. E. by S. an hour and a half brought us to *Indabab* (*i. e.* Golden Water, a small village on the south side of the road; the houses are small, and resemble sugar-loaves: on the north side of the road is an artificial mount, which seems to have been raised for the defence of the water. The land hereabouts is a fine black soil, mostly arable.

Thence continuing a S. E. by S. course, 35 minutes, came to Sphera, a small village south of the road; on the north-side are two large fountains of good clear water, near the foot of an

A

artificial

## 2 A P P E N D I X.

artificial mount, on the top of which is a building resembling a tomb.

From this place travelling S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. in two hours and a half came to Geboul, which lies on the south-side of the road; it appears to have been a more considerable village than any of the former, but is now almost in ruins. At a small distance to the N. E. is seen the valley of Salt, which supplies all the country with that commodity. Continuing our march four hours and a half came to Hagla, and encamped, the camel's motion very disagreeable.

23d.

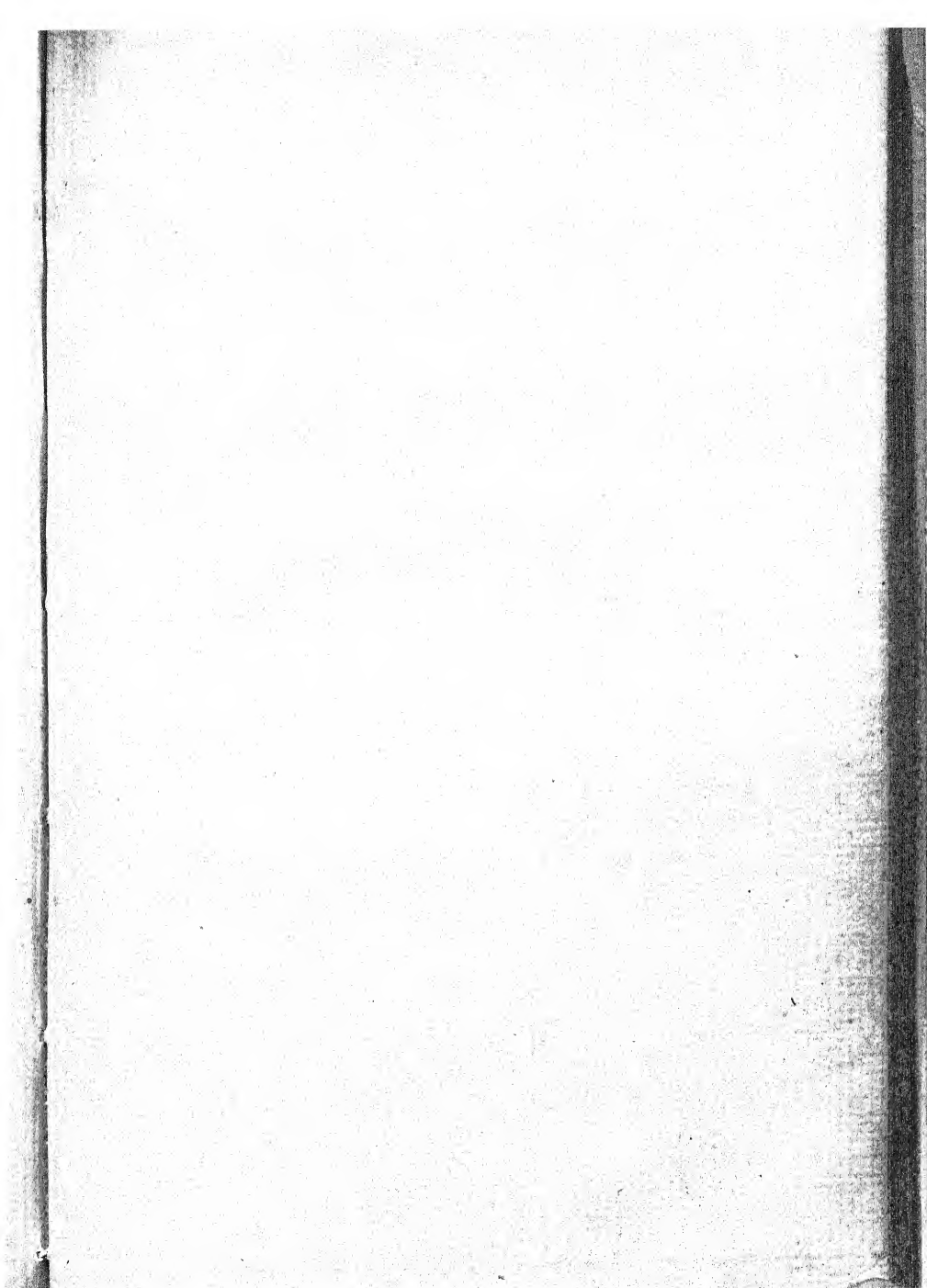
The caravan continued here all day, preparing for a regular march; the wind easterly and fresh, with dark cloudy weather; it rained hard all night, which made our lodging but uncomfortable.

24th.

The tents and baggage being made very heavy by the rain which fell in the night, we were forced to defer our departure till they were dry. I took this opportunity to visit a valley at the end of a range of hills to the northward, which terminate at Hagla, where I found several wells about twelve feet deep, built round with stone, the water very indifferent; notwithstanding which there seems, by the many remaining foundations, to have been formerly a large town here; there are also many squared stones standing perpendicularly, like those usually erected over graves, but I saw no inscriptions.

The Arabs report, that there are many black scorpions among these ruins; for which reason we encamped at a distance; the night dark, cold and rainy, with a fresh easterly gale.





N<sup>o</sup> 1 P. 3.



N<sup>o</sup> 2 P. 5.



N<sup>o</sup> 3 P. 6.



N<sup>o</sup> 4 P. 10.



N<sup>o</sup> 5 P. 22.



# A P P E N D I X. 3

Names of the remarkable places in the rout of  
the caravan.

|                          | Courses.                  | Tim. Mar. |      |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|------|
|                          |                           | Hours     | Min. |
| From Aleppo to Tilleran  | S. S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. | 4         |      |
| From Tilleran to Indahab | S. E. by S.               | 1         | 30   |
| From Indahab to Sphera   | S. E. by S.               |           | 35   |
| From Sphera to Geboul    | S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.    | 2         | 30   |
| From Geboul to Hagla     | S. E.                     | 2         |      |
| From Aleppo to Hagla     |                           | 11        | 5    |

25th.

Mounted this morning at eight. Directing our way over hard stony ground, in two hours and a half came to a steep descent, where a camel breaking his leg, was immediately butchered for an Arab feast. Here the hills on the right-hand begin to decline, and tending more to the southward, at the distance of about two miles, terminate on the plain. On the north-side of the road are many foundations of buildings, and several heaps of stones collected together, by which it appears, that this country was formerly well peopled and cultivated.

Kept S. S. E. one hour over the south end of the valley of Salt, which is a hard sandy soil quite level; then turned E. S. E. two hours, and at half past one in the afternoon encamped on the plain. The extreams of the high land Lahauz bearing S. E. by S. and S. W. by W. These hills are very remarkable, being about three miles in length from N. W. to S. E. their appearance is as here represented.

The Arabs said, there was water in the ruins of two old castles in these hills; but as they did not mention it in time, I had no opportunity of vi-

siting them. Lahauz (*i. e.* Discovery) is a very proper name for these heights, being finely situated for the distant discovery of the march of an army, or caravan, either on the plain or desert.

Here it may be necessary (having before omitted it) to mention the strength and number of the caravan. It consisted of thirty-three Christians, merchants and passengers, seven Jews, and about twenty Turks, with Sheik Mahauson, our conductor, and an escort of 240 Arab soldiers under his command. Fifty horses, thirty mules, and about twelve hundred camels, six hundred of which were laden with merchandize, chiefly belonging to the Christians and Jews; amounting in value to near three hundred thousand pounds sterling; the remainder were either ridden, or loaded with provisions.

26th.

Mounted this morning at sun-rise, directing our course S. E. by E. After a march of nine hours and a half arrived a little after four at Auro il Arauneb; *i. e.* the country of Hares, where we encamped. The surface of the earth all this day was covered with a white scurf; which reminded me of the manna gathered by the Israelites in the wilderness; at first I took it for salt, but on tasting, found it only a kind of alcali, drawn from the earth by the heat of the sun. I have already had reason to observe, that the Arabs were a little too ready to find things before they are lost; yesterday my handkerchief was conveyed away, and this evening they stole my blanket. A small breeze from N. W. all day, with pleasant weather; the night frosty.

27th.

This morning at sun-rise we mounted, our course was S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. to S. E. by E. or to take it on a medium

dium S. E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. for eight hours and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; at a little after three we encamped on the plain at Tilliam Lack (*i. e.* look out sharp.) Pleasant weather, with a breeze at N. W. The night cold, and inclining to frost. No water.

28th.

This morning by looking out sharp got coffee for breakfast, which with a little bread served me the whole day.

Having suffered much last night (which was very cold) from the want of my blanket, I thought of the following stratagem to recover it. I entered into conversation with the Arabs on the subject of my loss, and took occasion to mention how highly they were celebrated by travellers for their honesty; which made me conclude, that my blanket had been taken away by some mistake, and would be returned as soon as the error was discovered. This had the desired effect; the Arab who had it, fearful for the national honour, returned it, pretending he had found it on a camel. On the recovery of my property, I complimented the thief on his not deviating from the integrity of his countrymen. We set out early this morning, and marched S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. nine hours; at half past three in the afternoon encamped near the Jabian mountains; the weather fair, with a small breeze at east.

From Lahauz to this place the country is perfectly level, and the soil sandy. There are great plenty of hares, whose holes or burrows, of which the ground is as full as a warren, made it very troublesome to the camels; the mountains of Jabia run from the N. E. to S. W. and in a clear morning appear as in the view, No.



29th.

Set forwards at sun-rise; after travelling S.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. thirty minutes, came to some rising ground, which to avoid we kept S. S. E. half an hour, when a steep descent made us decline S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. for another half hour; from thence through a valley S. E. one hour and a half, and then shifted our course to S. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. in which direction we marched two hours, and about noon arrived at Ain il Kom, or the Fountain of War, where we encamped on a rising ground round a large spring of mineral water, from which issues near four tons an hour; it is blood warm, has a good taste, and is of an excellent quality. At about a hundred yards S. W. of this spring is an artificial mount, near two hundred feet high, raised for its defence. The mount bearing S. by E. at the distance of a quarter of a mile, it appears as in No. A is the place of the spring.

We saw a great quantity of cellery about this fountain or spring, and many large bushes on the desert, which were the first we met with since our departure from Hagla. From the mount, I could plainly perceive with my glass the ruins of Tibia, bearing south, distant about five miles. There still remains a large tower standing, surrounded with many ruins of great buildings. I also observed a hill, which appeared to have been fortified; from these circumstances, as well as its situation, believe Tibia was formerly very strong.

I offered an Arab a chequeen to accompany me thither, but he demanding three, I relinquished my intention.

There is a noble subterranean aquaduct cut thro' the rock, which conveys the water from this spring to Gufferah Sawye, a large old fort, at the entrance of this pass, ten miles to the southward,

on



on the other side of the mountains. This was a prodigious undertaking, and testifies the former importance of this place.

30th.

There being plenty of proper food for our camels, and the water good, we halted here this day, in order to lay in a proper store of that element, as we could not expect to meet with much more on our proposed route, the rainy season being but just commenced.

I fancy Bear is only fifteen miles N. E. from hence, and imagine it to be the same place mentioned in Judges ix. 21.

A little to the southward of this place is a large cross road, running from E. N. E. to W. S. W. which seems to pass from Bear Urfa in Mesopotamia to Jerusalem Damascus, Tyre Tripoly, and other places of note on the sea coasts, and S. W. parts of Syria; and this being likewise the pass from Persia and Chaldea to the north of Syria and Lesser Asia, a constant garrison was kept at this fort; whence the necessity of this grand aquaduct is evident, more particularly as this was probably the way by which those numerous armies, mentioned both in sacred and prophane history, marched from Babylon and other places of the east.

About eight miles from Tibia is the ruins of Sachne (*i. e.* Hot Water) another antient city, so named from a spring of excessive hot water, which issues from a mountain there.

Forty miles S. W. of Tibia stands the magnificent ruins of the once great and famous city of Jadmor, which with great probability is thought to be the same spoken of in 1 Kings ix. 18. and 2 Chron. viii. 4. I am the more confirmed in this opinion, as, except this and the two places whose ruins are already mentioned, I could not hear of

the least appearance of any other; besides, there seems no where in the desert, unless near these mountains, a sufficiency of water for a large city.

At a small distance from Jadmor is a village of salt, thought to be that mentioned 2 Sam. 8th and 13th verses; where David defeated the Syrians. If this be admitted, then Tibia and Sackne are probably the ancient cities of Tibhath and Chun, 1 Chron. xviii. 8. From whence David brought that great quantity of brass, with which Solomon made the Brazen sea, Pillar, and other works of the Temple. My reasons for these opinions are founded on the several passages in the Old Testament, as well as on the similarity in the sound of Tibia and Tibhath.

| Places names in the carav. route.    | Courses.               | H. | Min. |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|----|------|
| From Hagla to Lahauz,                | S. E. by S.            | 2  | 30   |
|                                      | S. S. E.               | 1  |      |
|                                      | E. S. E.               | 1  |      |
| Lahang to Auro il Aruneh,            | S. E. by E.            | 9  | 30   |
| Auro il Aruneh to Tellemac,          | S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. | 8  | 30   |
| Tillemlack to the Tiebran mountains, | S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. | 9  |      |
|                                      | S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. | 2  | 30   |
| Tiebran mountains to Air il Kom.     | S. S. E.               |    | 30   |
|                                      | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.    |    | 30   |
|                                      | S. E.                  | 1  | 30   |
| Hagla to Air il Kom.                 |                        | 37 | 30   |

By the aforefaid calculation for Air il Kom, and estimating the distance to Tibia S. by W. five miles, and that Tadmor is S. W. from hence twenty hours of a caravan. I then compute that Tiaba is situated in

Lat. by account and estimate 35 15 No.

Long. a merid. of { Aleppo 1 11 E.  
London 38 45

Tadmor

Jadmor is situated in

Lat. by account and estimat. 38 52 N.

Long. a merid. { Aleppo 00 37 E.  
                  { London 38 11

Having neither books, maps, or tables of latitude and longitude, I am consequently obliged to rely on my memory; from which I think Jerusalem is situate about  $32^{\circ} 30'$  N. latitude, nearly  $35^{\circ} 00'$  east of London. This being admitted, Jerusalem is only 250 miles S. W. from Tibia, and 200 S. W. from Tadmor.

31st.

Mounted this morning at sun-rise, marching S. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S. one hour, we had a fair view of the ruins of Tibia, which are at present entirely deserted.

Thence moved S. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. two hours and a half, and S. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S. one hour, through a fine and large valley, between the mountains, and came to Guseerah Swaye, *i. e.* the palace of Swaye, a large old fortress, on the south-side of the mountains, and at the entrance of the pass, which is here only about a mile wide, with steep hills on either side.

This valley is about fifteen miles long, and at Tibia eight or ten broad. The soil is good, and was formerly well watered by the aquaduct, which I before mentioned; and which I had now an opportunity of examining. It is arched over, and at proper distances had receivers with wells over them to draw water; many of which still are to be seen, but all defaced and ruined. At these places I observed great quantities of jepsing, a kind of sparry matter, resembling the crystals of nitre. It only appeared about the aquaduct where the water was stopped, or on the desert where mineral water had been spilt, on the hot sand. The A-  
rabs

10 A P P E N D I X.

rabs say, there is an inscription in Gufferah Swaye-agee to this purport, we filled this Gufferah (or palace) with figs.

About an hour S. W. are the ruins of Sackne, on the south side the mountains. I had not time to visit the old fortress, being situated on the west-side of the pass, and my cameler keeping on the east.

The rocks on this side the pass are very white, and seem to be a kind of alabaster.

Thence directing our course S. E. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. two hours and a half, over a dry sandy soil quite level, encamped at two on the plain at Geboul Busseir, from whence the south-side of the Tibetan mountains appear; a clear evening as in No. No water.

November 1.

Decamped this morning, travelling between S. E. and E. S. E. I allow the medium S. E. by E. nine hours; and about three in the afternoon encamped. We met with no water here, the country sandy, and quite level; a small breeze from N. W. all day, with cloudy weather; the night cold; the point of the black mountains at Sackne N. W. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. distance about nine leagues.

2d.

Marched at sun-rise, proceeding E. S. E. seven hours, over a hard soil, full of small stones, and quite level; came then to a small descent, from whence kept E. by S.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. three hours, till near sun-set, when we encamped. A small breeze from east all day, with pleasant weather; night cool. No water.

3d.

Decamped at sun-rise, course E. by S. four hours and ten minutes; at eleven encamped at Jeul il Ganam (*i. e.* the Sheeps Pool) a low sandy bottom, where there are several wells, or rather holes in the sand, about ten feet deep, from whence they draw a kind of mineral water, but much inferior to that of Ain il Kom. Near these wells where water had been spilt is abundance of jesping, which looks very pretty, glittering in the sun like glass; it has a rough pungent taste, and might probably produce allum, if the proper means were made use of.

Here we found a wounded man; he said he had remained eight days in that condition, without nourishment of any kind. Indeed he appeared almost spent. There were also several dead bodies thrown into the wells; after taking some refreshment, he gave us the following relation.

Two parties of Arabs who were enemies, chancing to meet eight days ago at Jeub il Ganam, they had an obstinate engagement, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides; at length they parted, as it were by consent. The one party standing to the northward, the other towards the south; they left this man, supposing him dead.

We had reason to suspect they both came with the intent of plundering the caravan, which we escaped by this unexpected meeting, when they vented their rage and disappointment on each other. On account of this lucky escape, the Arabs killed a camel for a festival of joy. There are a few bushes here, but no appearance of any antient or other buildings. I was told, that the city of Rackba is about nine hours E. N. E. from this place, wherefore shall calculate the situation of Jubil Ganam to guess at Rackba.



| Names of Places in the Carav. route, | Courses.                    | H. | Min. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----|------|
| From Ain il Kom to Gufferah Swaygee, | S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.      | 1  |      |
|                                      | S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.      | 2  | 30   |
| Gufferah Swaygee to Geboul Bufsheir, | S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.      | 1  |      |
|                                      | S. E. by E $\frac{1}{4}$ E. | 2  | 30   |
| Geboul Bufsheir to Jabil Ganam,      | . E. by E                   | 9  |      |
|                                      | E. S. E.                    | 7  |      |
|                                      | E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.         | 3  |      |
|                                      | E. by S.                    | 4  | 10   |
| Ain il Kom to Jabil Ganam is         |                             | 30 | 10   |
| Aleppo to Ain il Kom was             |                             | 48 | 55   |
| Aleppo to Jabil Ganam is             |                             | 78 | 45   |

|                       |   |                    |    |    |      |
|-----------------------|---|--------------------|----|----|------|
| Rackba is situated in | { Lat. by acct. and estimat.<br>Long. a merid. of | { Aleppo<br>London | 34 | 34 | N.   |
|                       |   |                    | 2  | 29 | } E. |
|                       |   |                    | 40 | 03 |      |

Rackba is still a large place, but much inferior to its ancient condition.

Indeed this country affords a melancholy proof of the instability of human affairs, when it is remembered, that of the part adjacent to the river Euphrates, and within the compass of thirty miles there were formerly not less than three hundred and fifty cities, towns, and villages, of whose ruins scarce a single trace at this time remains.

4th.

Mounted this morning at forty minutes past seven, E. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. three hours and a half; came then to Batton Swab, *i. e.* Gathering of Water, which seems in the rainy season to be a large river; but it is now dry; from thence kept S. E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. four hours.



hours. At ten minutes after three encamped on a fine soil, where we found plenty of food for our camels.

Our march was delayed till the return of some spies sent to Jabil Ganam the next water, in order to reconnoitre.

A fresh breeze in the morning. The night cool and agreeable. The country in this day's march not so level as in some of our former, as we met with several risings and descents, but more difficult of passage; the soil is hard and good, but no water; tho', from the size and verdure of the shrubs it is probable, that on digging plenty would be found.

#### 5th.

Decamped this morning at sun-rising. Marched S. E. by E. one hour and three quarters; thence S. E. three hours; E. by S. forty-five minutes, and E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S. half an hour, when we came again to the track or course of Battan Swab, which was also dry here. Encamped about half an hour after noon. The spies being returned, said, they found some people at the river, but that they were friends; and reporting that they saw abundance of rain water, much nearer, and directly in our route, it was determined to go thither. A small northerly breeze all day, and pretty warm; but the night cool and pleasant. The soil hard and good. Land uneven, but no hills in sight, except one running from N. E. to S. W. about a league in length, bearing north from hence, and distant about a mile; on the other side of which is, in the rainy season, a river; but it is at present dry.

This evening the camp was alarmed by the appearance of nine strangers; who on their first approach

proach we suspected to be thieves, coming with an intention to steal our camels. Our horsemen, on seeing the smallness of their number, rode out toward them with much affected bravery, and firing their pieces all the way. It proved, however, that they were friends, and come from Jurfa, a small village on the river, to compliment the Sheik, and to invite the caravan thither to fill water. The merchants presented each of them with a vest of cloth.

By this evening's amplitude found the variation to be about three quarters of a point west.

6th.

Mounted this morning at a quarter past seven. Travelling E. S. E. five hours over hard stony and uneven ground, till a quarter past twelve; came then to Battan Farda, *i. e.* the Brook Farda, and encamped; there is now much rain-water here; and in the rainy season I believe it forms a pretty rivulet. A fine westerly breeze all day, and the weather very warm; but the night agreeably cool.

About four miles E. S. E. from hence is Irfa, a small Arab village, on the other side the river Euphrates; and about thirty miles thence N. E. is the city of Urfa, from which I calculate the situation of this place.

| Places names in our route.           | Courses.               | H. | Min. |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|----|------|
|                                      | S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. | 3  | 30   |
|                                      | S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. | 4  |      |
|                                      | S. E. by S.            | 1  | 45   |
|                                      | S. E.                  | 3  |      |
|                                      | E. by S.               |    | 45   |
|                                      | E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.    |    | 30   |
|                                      | E. S. E.               | 5  |      |
| From Jubil Ganam to Battan Farda, is |                        | 18 | 30   |
| Aleppo to Jubil Ganam, was           |                        | 78 | 45   |
| Aleppo to Battan Farda, was          |                        | 97 | 15   |

By

By the calculation for Battan Farda, and estimating the distance from hence to Urfa (four miles E. N. E.) and that the city of Urfa is thence N. E. thirty miles, I conclude that Urfa

is situa- } lat. by acct. and estimation 34 26 N.  
ted in } long. from the meridian { Aleppo 2 43 E.  
London 40 17

is situa- } lat. by acct. and estimation 34 47 N.  
ted in } long. from the meridian { Aleppo 3 08 E.  
London 40 42

N. B. This calculation for Urfa is not to be relied on, as the Arabs do not seem to be clear in either their course or distance from Urfa hither.

The city of Urfa is the capital of the province of Dierback, and is with good reason thought to be the *Ur* of the Chaldeans, mentioned *Gen. xi. 31.* and is perhaps one of the most ancient cities in the world.

The Mahometans who highly venerate it, on account of its being the birth-place of Abraham, tell a great many marvellous stories about it, one of which is as follows.

“ They say Abraham’s father was a gross idolater, and being a statuary by trade, used to carve idols for Nimrod. His son had frequently, in vain, expostulated with him, on the absurdity of worshipping gods he had himself made. One day he took the opportunity of the old man’s absence, and broke and defaced his whole stock in trade. The father, on his return, finding his deities in this mutilated state, enquired into the cause; when Abraham answered him, he supposed they had quarrelled and treated each other in that rough manner. The father, enraged at this sarcasm, and right-

ly

“ly guessing at the author of the sacrifice, complained to Nimrod, who ordered Abraham to be seized, and thrown from a place raised on two high pillars, into a great fire; which was accordingly executed. When God immediately changed the fire into a pond of water, and the billets of wood into fishes; so that Abraham fell into the pond, without receiving the least injury.” The pond is large and full of fish, which are very tame; no one daring to take them, they being held sacred to the memory of Abraham.

I asked some Jews of the caravan, whether they believed this story? They answered, they had a tradition to the same import.

At noon many people came from Urfa. As the camp was too far for any supply of provision, their numbers made us keep a good look out, as on all occasions, power and right are with them synonymous terms.

Here a great fat fellow, a Sheik (*i. e.* squire or gent.) came to our tent in search of a doctor. I felt his pulse, and finding it feverish, prescribed bleeding; but having no lancet amongst us, our barber, with a rusty razor, made a large orifice, or rather a hole, which with great difficulty was afterwards closed. After the operation he slept for about three hours, got up, broke wind, eat a large dish of pillaw, and found himself perfectly recovered. Had my friend Dr. Russel seen him eat, I am persuaded he would admit my knowledge in Therapeuticks.

7th.

Proceeded this morning at eight, and directed our course S. E. two hours and a quarter. Thence  
S. E.

S. E. by S. half an hour to avoid some rising ground; then E. S. E. two hours, and E. by S. one hour; when we passed a valley between some hills E. N. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  one hour; then turning in the direction of the valley two hours, encamped about three quarters after four in the afternoon, in a low valley, not quite a mile broad, between the *Hills Maneyal* (i. e. *Hills of Defence*.) A fine westerly breeze all day, with serene pleasant weather, the night agreeably cool. The country hilly, the soil hard and barren, and no water.

8th.

Mounted this morning at ten minutes after six; travelling E. by S. one hour and a quarter; the E. S. E. three hours and three quarters; E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. two hours, and E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. three hours. At ten minutes past four encamped in a bottom, called *Jacabamus*, or *Buffaloe's Hole*.

A small breeze at west all day, with cool cloudy weather. Soil, &c. as before. No water.

9th.

Decamped this morning at seven, our course was E. S. E. three hours; E. S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  one hour and a quarter; then E. S. E. three hours and three quarters; then went down a deep descent into a plain; from whence we kept E. S. E. two hours; S. E. by E. one hour; and S. E. by S. another hour. At four this afternoon encamped.

A small fresh breeze, southerly all day; with dark cloudy weather; the soil hard, the country level. No water.

10th.

Mounted this morning at seven; our course E. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  one hour and a half; then going round some rising grounds, kept S. E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. two hours  
C and

and a quarter ; when we arrived at Oglet Haran, *i. e.* Kot of Haran. Encamped in a low bottom surrounded by hills.

This valley is about one mile broad, and two long ; in the middle of it are several large bushes, and many wells of indifferent Spaw water. There are a number of graves, with cut stones on the hill, on the south-east side, which make it probable it was formerly inhabited. There are also several others of later date on the hill, on the north side of the valley, which I imagine were made for passengers belonging to the caravans, who died in their passage. Haran is the antient name of this place, and Oglet, a Knot or Kowl, was probably derived from a hillock, resembling a knot on the highland on the south side, which appears, as in No. 5. on the top are great heaps of stone, but no signs of any building.

The name of this valley reminds me of the Haran of Abraham and Laban ; and there is reason from different parts of scripture (which I shall mention after I have found the situation of this place) to believe their dwelling was somewhere hereabout.



Names of the places in the rout of the caravan.

|                                      | Courfe.                     | H.  | Min. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----|------|
| From Battan Ford to Mancayal,        | S. E.                       | 2   | 15   |
|                                      | S. E. by E.                 |     | 30   |
|                                      | E. S. E.                    | 2   |      |
|                                      | E. by S.                    | 3   |      |
|                                      | E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.   | 1   |      |
| Mancayal to Jacobjamas,              | E. by S.                    | 1   | 15   |
|                                      | E. S. E.                    | 3   | 45   |
|                                      | E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.         | 2   |      |
|                                      | E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.         | 3   |      |
|                                      | E. S. E.                    | 5   |      |
| Jacobjamas to Oglet Haran,           | E. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.   | 1   |      |
|                                      | E. by S.                    | 1   |      |
|                                      | S. E. by E.                 | 1   |      |
|                                      | S. E. by S.                 | 1   |      |
|                                      | E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.         | 1   | 30   |
|                                      | S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.      | 2   | 15   |
| From Battan Forda to Oglet Haran, is |                             | 34  | 30   |
|                                      | Aleppo to Batton Forda, was | 97  | 15   |
| Aleppo to Oglet Haran,               |                             | 124 | 45   |

According to the estimation I made at Battan Forda, the city of Urfa should be only fifty-six miles N. N. W. from hence; and I imagine Abraham and his family came thence hither; which seems agreeable to the Mosaick account in Gen. xi. 31.

I formerly thought Haran was in Mesopotamia; but on farther enquiry, believe the contrary; for in Acts. vii. 3--4. St. Stephen says, "then came he out of the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in Charan or Haran." By which it is evident Charan was not in Chaldea. But Hosea xii. 12. is

## A P P E N D I X.

more particular, “and Jacob fled into the country of Syria; and Israel served for a wife, and for a wife he kept sheep.”

Hence it is plain Haran was in Syria; and father Laban, who was born at Haran, is often called a Syrian; Gen. xxviii. 5, 30, 31. Now when Jacob fled from Laban, he was only ten days in reaching mount Gilead; and could hardly march more than twenty-five miles a day, for the reason given his brother Esau, Gen. xxxi. 13. At which rate the distance from where Jacob passed the river to mount Gilead cannot be supposed more than two hundred and fifty miles; and Laban came up with him in seven days. This agrees with the distance, at about the rate of thirty-five miles a day. This was a long march with camels. But I am at a loss to determine the situation of mount Gilead, tho’ by Deut. iii. 17. and Numb. xxxii. 40. it should be on the east side of the river Jordan, and about sixty miles E. N. E. from Jerusalem; and if Jerusalem be in lat. 32 : 30 N. and long. 35 : 00 E. from London. Then say

Mount Gilead is situated in

lat. by account and estimation 32 : 07 N.

Long. from the meridian { Aleppo 1 : 28 } E.  
  { London 36 : 06 }

By which calculation Mount Gilead bears from Haran S. W. by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. distance two hundred and fifty-eight miles, which is near the distance supposed Jacob marched in ten days; and as any place farther to the S. E. or N. W. upon this river would much increase the distance. If I am right in my conjecture as to Mount Gilead and Oglet Haran, being on the way from Urfa to Canaan, near the river, and about the distance of Jacob’s march from Mount Gilead, I am inclined to think Oglet Haran is the Haran of that patriarch.

Mahomet

Mahomet pretended to affirm by inspiration, that the Haran where Abraham dwelt was that very spot where the temple of Mecca now stands, and which the Mahometans still call Haran. If this had been true, Jacob would have had no river to pass till he came to Jordan, and must then have marched near six hundred miles with his sheep, &c. in ten days, which is impossible; besides, we read Gen. xii. 9. after Abraham came from Haran to the land of Canaan, "and Abraham journeyed going on *still* towards the *south*;" by which it appears he came from the northward; and it must be remembered Mecca lies six hundred miles south from Canaan. Therefore, I may safely conclude, Mahomet very boldly asserted a falsehood, and was influenced by a different spirit from Moses; but as this impostor generally enforced his assertions by club eloquence,\* few cared to oppose such forcible arguments.

## 11th.

Mounted this morning at half past six, course S.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. one hour and twenty minutes, then S. S. E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. one hour, afterwards S. E. one hour, and S. E. by E. three hours; then changing to E. by S. another hour, and E. one hour, through a narrow pass between high white rocky cliffs, at the farther end of which lies Ain il Arnab (*i. e.* Hares Pool) where we encamped at four: I allow ten minutes for stoppages and interruption the camels met with in going thro' this defile.

The country from Oglet Haran is hard and rugged; in many parts of the road are heaps of stones, about seven feet in length, and four in breadth, which I imagine are to cover graves. The water here is of the mineral kind, having a sulphureous and disagreeable taste. A small westerly breeze all day, with pleasant weather; the night cold.

12th.

Decamped this morning at fifty minutes past six, course S. E. by E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. one hour; then east over hard stony ground two hours and a half. At twenty minutes after ten arrived at Cabassee, where we encamped on a rising ground.

The town bearing N. by E. about one mile distant, and a large mosque on the top of the hill on the N. E. at the distance of about three hundred yards.

Here is a deep aquaduct, cut in the rock thro' the hill, from which there is a run of water sufficient to work a mill, of a disagreeable sulphureous taste; but before it reaches the town, it is much meliorated by the earth and air.

The Arabs esteem Cabassee a very ancient town, and by its many ruins, it appears to have been once considerable. Its present inhabitants consists of only four hundred Arab families.

Here one-third of our caravan left us, being bound for Bagdat, and went about three hours journey further to the N. E. to Hit, where there is a bridge over the Euphrates, from which place Bagdat is about four days journey.

There are many date trees to the northward of this town, whose verdure formed a very agreeable prospect to us, who were just come from the desert, and reminded me of that beautiful simile in Psalm 1. verse 3.

Tho' here is great plenty of mutton, fowls, eggs and onions, yet they are not to be had without paying an exorbitant price; for if you employ the Arabs of the caravan to purchase them, they constantly impose on you, and it is not safe to go one's self, strangers here being very liable to insults. A small westerly breeze all day, with fair weather; the night cold, inclining to frost.

Places

| Places names in the carav. route. | Courses.                   | H.  | Min. |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|-----|------|
| From Oglet Haran to Ain il Arnab, | S. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.        | 1   | 20   |
|                                   | S. S. E.                   | 1   |      |
|                                   | S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.     | 1   |      |
|                                   | S. E.                      | 1   |      |
|                                   | S. E. by E.                | 3   |      |
|                                   | E. by S.                   | 1   |      |
| Ain il Arnab to Cabasfee.         | Eaft                       | 1   |      |
|                                   | S. E. by E $\frac{1}{4}$ E | 1   |      |
|                                   | Eaft                       | 2   | 30   |
| From Oglet Haran to Cabasfee      |                            | 12  | 50   |
| Aleppo to Oglet Haran             |                            | 124 | 45   |
| Aleppo to Cabasfee                |                            | 141 | 35   |

By this calculation, and estimating the bridge to be N. E. three hours, hence then,

Lat. by account and estimation 33 49 N:  
 Long. from the merid. { Aleppo 4 07 } East.  
                                   { London 41 41 }

13th.

Decamped this morning at seven, course S.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. one hour and a half, to avoid some high land to the S. E. which runs east and west; then S. S. E. one hour and a half, which brought us on a plain; kept S. E. by S. two hours, encamped at Ardel Mahumedy, at half after one. The country rough and stony, till we got round the hills, and then a fine smooth soil, but no water. A small breeze at N. E. all day, with dark cloudy weather; at two a squall of rain, with thunder and lightning.

14th.

Proceeded this morning at seven, course S. E. by S. one hour and a half; then S. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S. seven hours,



hours, when arrived at Tammel, and encamped, at half an hour after three, near a large spring of mineral water, strongly impregnated with sulphur, defended by an artificial mount, forty feet high; within some walls, on the summit, are several graves; at some distance the ground seemed ploughed, or dug up for the purpose of sowing grain, but no houses or people were to be seen; the shrubs appeared more flourishing than we had before met with; there was much rain-water in several places. In this day's march the soil was generally good, and the country level, excepting some gullies, or broken channels, formed by the rain water, where the stones were very troublesome to the camels. At noon saw, at about a league to the N. E. of our rout, Ain il Gar (or the Fountain of Pitch) a bituminous spring, many large clods of which lay near the road. A fresh breeze from the S. E. with dark cloudy weather, and some showers of rain.

## 15th.

This morning mounted at half an hour past six, course from S. E. to S. E. by S. chiefly S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. ten hours and a half; encamped at five in the afternoon at Ermach (*i. e.* Launces) near and to the N. E. of five hillocks; the country mostly level, and the soil rich, but no water. A small northerly breeze all day, with cloudy weather.

## 16th.

Mounted at half an hour past six, course S. E. by E. one hour and a half, and E. S. E. two hours; saw about a mile to the eastward the ruins of Gufferah Muken (*i. e.* Palace of Muken) which, like most of the towns and buildings of this country, has little more than its foundations remaining. Thence



Thence we proceeded S. E. by E. one hour, came then to Ain il Bassalin, or fountain of the eyes, a large spring of indifferent water. The soil hereabouts is hard and stoney; from thence S. E. by S. three hours, over a loose black spoil thick set with high shrubs. At two in the afternoon encamped at Miniaphen, where are several wells of pretty good water. About two miles N. N. E. of the camp is Rachelle, a mean Arab village; and E. N. E. another called Stata, inhabited by professed robbers; from the latter they brought dates to sell to the caravan, of which I bought sixty pounds. A strong bleak northerly wind all day, with dark cloudy weather, the night cold.

## 17th.

Decamped this morning at seven, course S. E. by S. four hours, S. E. one hour, and S. E. by E. three hours, encamp'd at three.

At the distance of about four miles, bearing N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. of our camp, stands Alcander, a large and ancient fort, said by the Arabs to be built by a Christian queen, who, on account of the scarcity of stones had recourse to the following stratagem, to procure them. She caused publick proclamation to be made throughout the country, that she would give a load of gold for the like quantity of stone. On this publication a multitude of people flocked thither with their beasts of different kinds heavily laden. The first who arrived was a man with an ass, who depositing his load, received the stipulated reward.

Then the queen informed the others, that her promise extended only to one load, and that no more than that quantity was wanted. They, rather than return with their burdens, threw them down, by which she became possessed of more than sufficient for the completion of this fortress.

They

They likewise add, that this place which held out for many years, was at length taken by the following contrivance.

The Arabs having first privately lodged a number of men near the fort, ordered a small caravan slightly guarded to pass by, consisting of a number of camels, each carrying two armed men enclosed in baskets, disguised like bales of goods; the Christians sallied out, and seizing the supposed booty, carried it into the fort. At this instant the Arab party discovering themselves, seemed to prepare for an assault, when all the garrison running to the walls, gave the men hid in the baskets time to disengage themselves; which they instantly did, and seizing one of the gates, let in their comrades. Could it be supposed that the Arabs had ever read Virgil, I should have imagined they had formed the plan of this stratagem, from that of the Trojan horse.

I am confidently told, that a caravan may march from Alkander to the Ephrates in three hours; and after crossing that river, may reach Bagdat in five, so that estimating the march of a caravan at its usual rate of two miles per hour, the distance from Alkander to Bagdat is about sixteen miles.

Probably somewhere hereabouts stood the ancient city of Babylon. History informs us, Cyrus took it by turning the course of the Euphrates, and making himself an entrance into the city through the deserted bed of that river. It was likewise said to be near Bagdat, which city still stands on its original foundations: If therefore Babylon was as Doctor Prideaux describes it, "a square each side fifteen miles in length, it could not have fallen very far from Alkander."

The

The name and situation of Alcander gave me a desire to view it, but could not prevail on my cammeller to go with me for less than a chequin, but my finances not being in the best order, night approaching, and being fearful of losing the caravan, I did not gratify my inclination.

The country here was quite level soil, sandy, and full of high shrubs. Plenty of water.

A fresh gale from the N. W. with dark hazy weather; at two it began to rain, and continued drizzling all night; the many gusserahs or palaces we met with in our march, persuades me there were formerly several petty princes in this country. Some of whom might possibly be those who were informed of the birth of Christ, by the appearance of the star, as mentioned in the Gospel of St. Matthew.

# A P P E N D I X.

| Names of Places in the Carav. route, | Couries.               | H.  | Min. |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|-----|------|
| From Cabassee to Air il Mahumedy,    | S. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.    | 1   | 30   |
|                                      | S. S. E.               | 1   | 30   |
|                                      | S. E. by S.            | 2   |      |
| Ardil Mahumedy to Tamell             | S. E. by S.            | 1   | 30   |
| Tamel to Ermat                       | S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. | 7   |      |
|                                      | S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. | 30  | 10   |
| Ermat to Ain il Bafalem              | S. E. by E.            | 1   | 30   |
|                                      | E. S. E.               | 2   |      |
| Ain il Bafalem to Mainephén          | S. E. by E.            | 1   |      |
|                                      | S. E. by S.            | 3   |      |
| Mainephén to Al Kander               | S. E. by S.            | 4   |      |
|                                      | S. E.                  | 1   |      |
|                                      | S. E. by E.            | 3   |      |
|                                      |                        | 39  | 30   |
| Aleppo to Cabassee                   |                        | 141 | 35   |
|                                      |                        | 181 | 5    |

Lat. by account and estimation. 32 42 N.  
 Long. a merid. { Aleppo 4 6 } E.  
                               { London 42 20 }  
 By this account it is 360 miles to Jerusalem.  
 18th.

The caravan being obliged to halt here, in order to dry their tents, &c. furnished me with the wished-for opportunity of visiting Al Kander. Accordingly, by the persuasive argument of a dollar, I prevailed on a cameller to accompany me thither; when arming myself with a brace of pistols, I set out at eight o'clock, and arrived at the castle about thirty minutes after nine.

The magnificent appearance of these ruins, almost persuaded me they were part of the antient Babylon.

The Arab, my companion, declined entering for fear of serpents or wild beasts; so taking a pistol

pistol in each hand I ventured alone, creeping thro' a hole in the gate-way, which was nearly filled up with rubbish.

I crossed the building over heaps of stones, and went out at the north gate, after which, going round it as close as the ruins would permit, I counted my paces, in order to form some guess at its dimensions.

This fortress consists of a square castle, surrounded by an envelope, or exterior wall of the same shape, casmated and fortified with towers and turrets.

The envelope, or surrounding wall, is an exact square, whose sides face the cardinal points of the compass; each measuring seven hundred feet, being two hundred and fifty of my paces.

On each angle is a round tower, of about twenty feet diameter, and in the center of each side is another of the same size and figure; thro' these last are gates, on each side of which are disposed at equal distances five small turrets, of about ten feet diameter, and between every tower or turret are two arches, making in all twenty-four on each side of the square; these are filled up to within one foot of the surface of the wall, and give it a magnificent appearance.

Most of the walls are near fifty feet high, and thirty thick, with loop holes for four thousand men, exclusive of those on the top of the works. Having thus surveyed the outer part of the envelope, I entered at the south-gate to examine its internal construction.

This and the other gates are only ten feet wide at the entrance, but enlarge to fifteen, and are about twenty feet high; here I saw a door which seemed the entrance into the casmates, it was six feet high, and arched over, but being very dark, I could not observe the way which mounted to the loop.

loop holes, but imagine it was by stairs in the towers at the angles.

The arches over the gates are well turned, being segments of circles ; at present the gates are almost entirely filled up with rubbish and loose stones. The walls on the inside are plain ; next adjoining to the south-side, is a parade of six hundred and twenty feet long, and two hundred and sixty broad, affording sufficient room to draw up ten thousand men.

On the south-side of the parade stands the castle which is likewise a regular square, whose interior side is three hundred feet, fortified like the envelope with round towers at the angles, and on the center of the curtains ; the interior diameters of these towers are only eight feet.

The only entrance into this building was from the north-gate, except at the north-west angle, where there has been a little door.

The inside is divided into four divisions or squares, the lower parts of which seems a cluster of arches ; these were, I suppose, the magazines, and over them the rooms for the officers, but they are all now ruined ; and by the great quantity of rubbish which has fallen down, it appears these buildings were formerly very high. In the N. W. square are three large arches, the middle one about twenty-five feet high ; under it is a large hall, about seventy-two feet in length, and thirty-six broad. Over the entrance from the north-gate on the inside, are three niches in the wall, and one on each side, where there have been images ; but for its situation, which is to the north, I should have thought it a Christian altar. Perhaps the primitive Christians might be wiser than to think, that directing their prayers to any particular point of the compass added to their efficacy : but be this as it may, it is either the work of Christians or Pagans,



Pagans, for the Mahometans admit of no images in their buildings; and as they conquered this country in the sixth century, this building must consequently be very antient, and was erected above eleven hundred years ago.

On the east and west sides of this castle are two oblong spaces or parades, each two hundred and seventy feet long and one hundred broad, and the north wall is prolonged from the N. E. and N. W. angles, till it joins the walls of the envelope.

Between the castle and the north side of the envelope is an intermural space, six hundred and twenty feet long and seventy-two broad. This may have been barracks for the troops.

At about twenty yards distant from this fortress, stood a building 360 feet long and one hundred and eighty broad, also divided into four squares; one of which is fortified with towers, the other three are vaulted stables for horses. The walls of the fortified part are of the same height as those of the fortress; the others are only twelve feet high. By the ruins I observed a communication from the stables to the other building.

The whole of these buildings are composed of hard brown squared stones, laid like bricks, and strongly cemented with black earth mortar, excepting the arches which are white, and seem to have been laid with lime.

Before the use of artillery, this must have been a very strong fortification, and was capable of containing a garrison of thirty-thousand men. I was told by some of the caravan, that there were inscriptions in this castle, but I met with none.

About two hundred yards from the N. E. angle of the great gate, are the ruins of a strong house built with stone and lime; and at about the distance of a mile and a half to the N. E. are other remains;

remains; but noon approaching, and the weather being clear, I was fearful the caravan might proceed, so would not venture to be absent any longer, otherwise should have remained here till evening.

I should have been glad, with agreeable company, to have made a progress along the river, being persuaded we should have met with many magnificent remains.

The tomb of Ezekiel is said to be only twenty miles east from hence, and as he died in captivity, it is probable he was buried somewhere near Babylon; this is another reason justifying my opinion of this city, being situated hereabouts; not that I imagine Alcander to be any part of it, as I think it of much later date; perhaps the work of the Greek or Palmyrian states; for, after the destruction of Babylon, there still remained several large cities in this part of the country. The fort then might be erected for the protection of the commerce, carried on between them and Palmyra. Though the soil is good, and plenty of water, it is at present totally deserted by every living creature, except serpents and wild beasts; so thoroughly is accomplished the prophecies of Isaiah xiii. 19, 20, 21, 22, and Jeremiah li. 29, 53.

Indeed, when I consider the once magnificent state of Babylon, its stupendous walls and hanging gardens, so pompously described in antient history, it seems little less than miraculous, that it should be so totally eradicated, as not to leave sufficient traces to determine, with any exactness, its former situation. If I was to interpret literally the prediction of Jeremiah li. 63, 64, where he says, "And it shall be when thou hast made an end of reading this book, that thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the middle of Euphrates, and thou shalt say, thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise from the evil I will bring upon her." I should

should be tempted to suppose it swallowed up by the river, which is the more possible, as the country hereabouts is a perfect bed of dry sand, and the river appears to have shifted greatly to the north-east of its antient channel.

About a mile to the south of the fort are two hillocks, seemingly artificial, and a ridge running strait to the N. E. These I take to be the foundations of buildings now covered with sand; but not having sufficient time to examine them, or tools to move the sand, could not verify my conjectures.

At noon set out for the caravan, which I joined by half an hour after one; I found them still encamped, and determined to remain there till the next morning. On this information I repented my returning so soon.

A fresh bleak N. W. wind all day; the night very cold.

19th.

Mounted this morning at seven, our course S. by E. one hour, S. S. E. one hour, S. E. by S. two hours, S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W. one hour, S. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S. three hours, and E. S. E. one hour; encamped at four in the afternoon on a dry barren plain, no water near us, but found enough on the road. A small S. E. breeze, with dark cloudy weather; the country a barren level; our course this day has, in my opinion, been more southerly than was necessary, as no impediments appeared to the eastward, and a south-east course would have been much more direct.

20th.

Decamped this morning at seven, directing our course S. E. by E. two hours, came to a steep descent, where are some hills at a distance resembling buildings. On one of which to the right, called Tick de Gana, is said to be water. Pro-

D

ceeded

ceeded thro' a valley between sandy hills E. S. E. five hours, and at two in the afternoon encamped on the plain, from which it is only six hours S. E. by E. to Mechadali. A strong bleak north westerly wind all the morning, with dark hazy weather, and drizzling rain; the afternoon fair; the night cold and frosty. No water here, the country barren and the soil sandy. We met with several elevations on the road.

Some of our caravan told me they had seen the ruins of Babylon about eight hours journey east of hence; but I imagine they mistook the ruins of Cuffa for those of that city; Cuffa is below Bagdat, and Babylon is generally supposed above it.

A Persian merchant of our caravan informed me, some remains of the tower of Babel were still to be seen about twenty miles above Bagdat; that it was called Nimrod, from its founder; and on this occasion he amused me with the following traditional story.

“ That Nimrod, in defiance of the Almighty, gathered together all the people for the purpose of erecting this tower, and under the direction of seventy-two Armenian architects, the most famous builders of their time; when having advanced the fabrick to a great height, God was pleased to make each of the builders speak a different tongue: this caused great confusion, and ever since there has been seventy-two different languages. Finding him so very particular, I asked him which were the languages then formed, but this exceeded his knowledge; however, it is not improbable that Babel was hard by Bagdat, or Bagsdeth, which, as well as Babel, signifies confusion.

21st.

This morning the water and sand being frozen, was obliged to wait till the sun had thawed them; however mounted at nine, our course S. W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  S. one hour and a quarter, then S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W. one hour and a half, over a hard, stony, and hilly country; thence S. E. by E. three hours, over a plain, and came to Rackma, a rocky cliff, where were several pools of rain water; stopped here to let our camels drink, and afterwards proceeded round the cliff E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N. three quarters of an hour, and came to another rocky craig, which joins the former, and in the rainy season makes a large rivulet of water. About forty minutes after three in the afternoon encamped in sight of Meched Ali, bearing E. by N. distant about eight miles.

Fair clear weather all day, with a bleak cold breeze from the N. W. The night frosty.

The country hard, hilly, and very barren, only in the valleys or cliffs where the water runs are many large bushes, bearing a berry of the size of a haw, called Zarour, having an agreeable acid taste.

At sun-set the cupels of Mechad Ali (*i. e.* a full view of Ali) appeared like a globe of fire on the side of the hill; that dome is said to contain the corps of Ali, the Persian prophet, and one of the four caliphs, who succeeded Mahomet; on which account this place is held in high veneration by all the musselmens of that sect bearing his name.

This mosque has been lately repaired and adorned, at a vast expence, by Nader Shaw, the sophy of Persia, so well known in Europe by the name of Thamas Kouli Kahn.

The whole doom is covered with gilt copper, and the doors, windows and galleries profusely de-



corated with gilding, azure borders, freeze work, and every other ornament suited to the taste of the country.

But it is in the tomb of Ali that the eastern magnificence is more particularly manifested; which, according to an account I have seen written by a gentleman who visited it, is of exquisite workmanship, and set with jewels of immense value, altogether making a most dazzling appearance. I would fain have gone for the sake of personally examining the truth of his description, but was dissuaded, on account of the great risque I should have run of being murdered, or at least ill-treated, by the guardians of the prophet's tomb, who are reported to be the most abandoned miscreants on earth; and, like their master, declared inveterate enemies to the Christians, from whom this country was conquered, under the conduct of Ali and his sons.

| Names of Places in the carav. rout. | course.                | H.  | Min. |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-----|------|
|                                     | S. by E.               | 1   |      |
|                                     | S. S. E.               | 1   |      |
|                                     | S. E. by S.            | 2   |      |
|                                     | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    | 1   |      |
|                                     | S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. | 3   |      |
| From Alcanderto Tackde Gana         | E. S. E.               | 1   |      |
|                                     | S. E. by E.            | 2   |      |
|                                     | E. S. E.               | 5   |      |
|                                     | S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. | 1   | 15   |
| Tackde Gana to Rackam               | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    | 1   | 30   |
|                                     | S. E. by E.            | 3   |      |
| Rackam to Gersfeme                  | E. $\frac{3}{4}$ N.    |     | 45   |
| Aleppo to Alkandar is               |                        | 22  | 30   |
| Aleppo to Gersfeme is               |                        | 182 | 35   |
|                                     |                        | 205 | 5    |

|                                   |    |    |       |
|-----------------------------------|----|----|-------|
| Lat. by account                   | 32 | 08 | N.    |
| Mechad Ali is situate in { Aleppo | 5  | 21 | East. |
| Long. a merid. { London           | 42 | 55 |       |
|                                   |    |    | 22d.  |



22d.

Our bedding and other equipage being frozen, and the ground very slippery and dangerous for the camels, we were obliged to wait till the sun had thawed them; were forced to remain here till half an hour after nine, when we set out. Our course being S. by E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. five hours; at half an hour past two came to Pattan il Hash, and encamped near a pool of rain water, the country uneven and stoney. A small breeze from the S. W. with fair pleasant weather, the night moderate.

23d.

This morning about four it rained hard for half an hour, but soon after clearing up, we set out at seven, directing our course S. S. E. one hour, S. E. three hours, and S. S. E. three more, came to Mugaroon (*i. e.* the square) an old ruined fort on the S. W. side of the road, I was a mile to the eastward when I first saw it; I immediately dismounted and went up to it, but the caravan being on their march, and night approaching, I had not time to make many remarks. This fort is a square, each side about sixty yards in length, and fortified with five round towers at equal distances; on the S. E. side is a large tank or reservoir for water, near five hundred yards in circumference, and about ten deep; the sides faced with stone, and at two or three places there are steps to descend into it. On each side are two mounts thrown up for its defence.

I also saw a tower with many other ruins about half a mile to the westward, from which I imagine here formerly stood a considerable town. The Arabs say the caliphs of Bagdat used to maintain a large garrison at this place for the protection of Pilgrims going to Mecca; also magazines of provision

vision, in order to supply them for their journey. They likewise added, that there is hereabouts a well of a prodigious depth, covered with a stone, on which is an inscription in the Chaldean characters, and that there were others in the same language on the tower abovementioned: I could not examine them for reasons before assigned. Besides, the Arabs are so extremely jealous of any strangers who appear inquisitive in their researches into the antient buildings and ruins of this country, that it would be running a great risque to give a loose to ones curiosity; I therefore returned to the caravan, marching S. E. by E. two hours, at six encamped with them on a plain, where we found plenty of food for our camels but no water.

The night proved extremely cold, most of our bedding was frozen, so that our lodging was very disagreeable.

| Names of places in the cara. rout. | Courses.                  | H.  | Min. |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----|------|
| From Gersume il Hash.              | S. by E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. | 5   |      |
| Battan il Hash to Mugaroon.        | S. S. E.                  | 4   |      |
|                                    | S. E.                     | 3   |      |
| Gersume to Mugaroon,               |                           | 12  |      |
| Aleppo to Gersume,                 |                           | 205 |      |
| Aleppo to Mugaroon,                |                           | 217 | 5    |

|                      |          |          |       |
|----------------------|----------|----------|-------|
| Latitude by account, | 31       | 45       | N.    |
| Mugaroon is situate  | { Aleppo | 5        | 19    |
| in long. from        |          | { London | 42 53 |
|                      |          |          | } E.  |

24th.

Decamped this morning at seven, course variable; I judged it nearest S. S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. eight hours and a half. At half an hour after three in the afternoon came to Um il Hafshem, and there encamped on the plain. A small breeze from the S. E.

S. E. the day clear and pleasant, the night cool : the country for the first five hours was mostly level, the soil good, full of small loose stones, but afterwards barren, with hard gravel. No water.

25th.

Mounted this morning at seven, course variable from south to south-east, nearly S. S. E. five hours, came to some rain water, when after letting the camels drink, proceeded E. S. E. three hours farther, and encamped at Abilmuris, on the plain ; the country in general level ; soil barren, hard and stony ; the weather cold and raw. A fresh breeze from the S. S. E. with drizzling rain, which being directly in our faces, made the march very disagreeable.

26th.

A hard frost this morning, which detained us till the sun had dried and thawed our bedding, &c. At eleven mounted, our course S. E. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. five hours ; at four in the afternoon encamped on the plain, near a pool of rain water ; the country and soil mostly as yesterday, the weather dark and cloudy, with hard rain from sun set to eight at night. Our conductor being informed that Sheik Gafme, with his tribe of Arabs, four thousand in number, lay encamped in the road near the rivers, we shifted our course more towards the desert, in order to avoid them.

27th.

Decamped this morning at seven, course S. E. by E. two hours, E. S. E. four hours, and E. by S. four more ; some southerly turnings make me allow the compound course E. S. E. The country plain, soil hard and stony ; a small S. W. breeze, and pleasant weather. No water.

D 4

28th

28th.

Decamped fifty minutes after six, course chiefly E. S. E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. seven hours; at two encamped on the plain, where was plenty of food for our camels. A great dew this morning, with a fog, which lasted till noon; a cold north west wind, weather fair, and the country as before. No water.

29th.

Proceeded at seven, course S. E. by E. and E. S. E. till eleven, then rounded a hill S. W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  S. half an hour, and came to Gurna, *i. e.* Corner, where we stopped near ten minutes, to water the cattle at a large pool, then re-assumed our march, course nearest E. S. E. three hours and a half, came to Batten Gufferah, *i. e.* the Palace rivulet, where we encamped near a large pool. A cold wind from the N. W. but the weather fine and clear; country hilly, the soil hard and stony.

The Arabs say Gufferah, an antient palace with many ruins, is to be seen about four miles N. E. from hence, but I had not time to visit them. The many Gufferahs, or palaces, whose ruins we meet with on our rout, shows the number of petty princes who formerly possessed this country, and who were mostly of Abraham's family; namely, the Dukes of Edom, Gen. xxxvi. and Ishmaelites, Gen. xxv. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, with the Moabites and Ammonites, descendants from Lot, who drove out the Emmims and Zamzum-mims, Dieut. ii. 18 and 20. I take the Emmims to be the present inhabitants of the southern parts of Arabia, the king of Muscat still retaining the title of Immim, or as they pronounce it Imaum.

Names

| Places names in the carav. route.     | Courses.                     | M   | H.      |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----|---------|
| From Mugaroon to Unil Hassem          | S. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$       | 8   | 30      |
| Unil Hassem to Belmuris               | { S. S. E.                   | 5   |         |
|                                       | { E. S. E.                   | 3   |         |
| Abelmuris to Gurna                    | { S. E. by E $\frac{1}{4}$ E | 5   |         |
|                                       | { E. S. E.                   | 10  |         |
|                                       | { E. S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.  | 7   |         |
| Gurna to Gufferah                     | { S. W. $\frac{3}{4}$ S.     |     | 30      |
|                                       | { E. S. E.                   | 3   | 30      |
| Mugaroon to Battan Gufferah           |                              | 42  | 30      |
| Aleppo to Mugaroon                    |                              | 217 | 5       |
| Aleppo to Battan Gufferah             |                              | 259 | 35      |
| Lat. by account                       |                              | 30  | 49 N.   |
| Gufferah is situate in long. a merid. | { Aleppo                     | 6   | 35 } E. |
|                                       | { London                     | 44  | 9 } E.  |

30th.

Decamped this morning at seven, course E. S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. six hours, came to Battan Amaba, where finding plenty of water, we halted to let our camels drink; then proceeded S. E. one hour, and S. S. E. another, which brought us to Battan Arah, i. e. Rivulet of Water, and encamped near a rocky cliff, where are many pools of rain water; the soil barren, hard and stony, the country mostly level, excepting these cliffs near the Battans. A small pleasant breeze N. W. with fine clear weather.

This being the Jewish sabbath, those belonging to our caravan remained behind, in obedience to the Mosaic law, which prohibits their travelling more than a stated distance on that day. This they had always observed, ever since we left Aleppo, commonly re-joining us in the night; they therefore, on their setting out, requested the Sheik



to allow them a guard, to stay with them till the expiration of the sabbath, and to escort them to the caravan, not without hopes he would have denied their request; on which occasion the sin would, as they believed, have been charged to his account; they were however disappointed, as it furnished him with a pretence for levying sixty or seventy dollars, every week, for guard money and camel hire; and he was too clear-sighted and attentive to his own interest, to let slip so favourable an opportunity.

#### December 1.

Mounted at seven, course E. S. E. four hours, came to Battan Naum, where were several good pools; thence E. by S. two hours, and reached Battan Canagan, which appears as if it was a large rivulet in the rainy season; there was at this time plenty of water; hence proceeded E. S. E. two hours, over a loose dry sand, covered with shrubs; at three encamped on the plain, the country level, with a hard barren gravelly soil; a small N. W. breeze, with fine warm weather.

#### 2d.

Decamped at seven, course S. E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. two hours, and E. S. E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. four hours, came to Battan Shagare; where we encamped on the plain. Country and soil as yesterday; pleasant weather, with a gentle S. E. breeze. N. B. Several wells near the camp.

#### 3d.

Marched off at seven, course E. S. E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. three hours, then S. E. by E. two hours. It began to rain at ten, which encreasing, obliged us to encamp at noon on a plain, where we were met by an express, with letters from Bufferah. Cloudy weather with rain till two.

#### 4th.



4th.

Mounted at seven, course S. E. by E. six hours and a half, which brought us to Chapda, where we encamped on the plain; the soil sandy, and country level, excepting some eminences, which we met with the last hour's march. A light N. W. breeze, with pleasant weather. No water.

5th.

Decamped at seven, course E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N. seven hours, came to Abuan, and encamped on the plain. Our people seem not to know exactly where they are, and to suspect we are to the southward of Bufferah. A hard barren gravelly soil, the country level. A fresh easterly gale. The weather dark and cloudy, with hard rain from sun-set to nine o'clock.

6th.

Moved at seven, course variable, allowed E. N. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. six hours, encamped at Indhollibee on a plain; country level and soil sandy. Squally weather, the wind various.

7th.

Remained here till the Sheik had seen the Musfulman of Bufferah, who he was informed lay at Issabar. He (for private reasons) being afraid of him, was determined to adjust matters here before he proceeded to Bufferah, and discharged the caravan. A raw cold N. W. wind with clear weather; the night frosty. No water.

8th.

Mounted this morning at eight, course E. N. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. six hours, came to Quibda at two, and at three encamped on the plain about a mile south of the town, in which there appears some ruins:

I was

I was told it is an antient place, but contained nothing worthy of notice; therefore not having much leisure did not visit it.

At three Mr. Brabazon Ellis, the English resident at Busserah, accompanied by Mr. F. Hammer, surgeon, visited the caravan, and gave me an invitation to go with them to Issabier; therefore leaving my things in charge of a friend, mounted on horseback at four, course N. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. two hours; which I compute equal to three hours march of a camel. Came to Issabier about six, where I met Mr. Hanger, another English gentleman.

9th.

This morning the caravan arrived and encamped about a mile S. S. E. of the town.

Issabier is a mean Arab town, consisting of many houses or rather huts, containing about six or seven hundred inhabitants, and appears a most dirty and wretched place.

10th.

Sent my things this morning on an ass to Busserah, and after dinner, at about two o'clock, set out for that place, in company with the before-mentioned English gentlemen. Arrived at the English factory at five; our course being N. E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N. three hours march of a caravan: the way was belly deep in water, the roads being overflowed. Here I had the pleasure of meeting captain John Dick, who gave me the news of Bombay, and a prospect of procuring a passage with him to India.

| Names of Places in the Carav. route, | Courses.   | H.     | Min. |
|--------------------------------------|--|--------|------|
|                                      | E. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.                          | 6      |      |
| From Battan Gufferah to Battan Amaba | } S. E.  | 1      |      |
| Battan Amaba to Battan Arah          | S. S. E.   | 1      |      |
| Battan Arah to Battan Naum           | E. S. E.   | 4      |      |
| Battan Naum to Battan Canagah        | { E. by S.<br>E. S. E.                             | 2<br>2 |      |
| Battan Canagal to Battan Shagerah    | { S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.<br>S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. | 2<br>4 |      |
| Battan Shagera to Chapda             | E. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.                          | 3<br>8 | 30   |
| Chapda to Abuan                      | { S. E. by E.<br>E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.               | 7<br>6 |      |
| Abuan to Indholibie                  | E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.                          | 6      |      |
| Indholibie to Quibda                 | E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.                          | 6      |      |
| Quibda to Iffabier                   | E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.                          | 3      |      |
| Iffabier to Bufferah                 | N. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ N.                             | 3      |      |
| Battan Gufferah to Bufferah          |  | 58     | 30   |
| Aleppo to Battan Gufferah            |  | 259    | 35   |
| Aleppo to Bufferah                   |  | 318    | 5    |

|                         |          |    |        |
|-------------------------|----------|----|--------|
| Lat. by observation     | 30       | 22 | N.     |
| Bufferah is situated in | { Aleppo | 8  | 6 } E. |
| Long. a merid.          | { London | 46 | 1 } E. |

I find by the coasting pilot, for oriental navigation with which captain Dick favoured me, that Bufferah is there laid down more to the east than I made it; but am persuaded it is not more from the meridian of Aleppo. And if the table of longitude in Patoun's navigation is right in the situation of Alexandria, then this account of the longitude of Bufferah is perhaps nearer the truth than those draughts; which I presume were formed from journals to India, by the Cape of Good Hope. The situation of Scandaroon, as laid down in the general draught of the coasting pilot, differs from that assigned in Patoun; but as my whole journal

journal was calculated from that table, the situation of Jerusalem should be computed by the same.

The motion of my camel would not admit of that exactness I could have wished, in estimating our course by the compass. I therefore used the more attention to correct it by different methods; neither am I certain that my allowance of seventy miles to a degree is right; as adjusting the log line to that length has never yet answered at sea.

It is a pity the gentlemen residing at Aleppo or Bufferah, have not endeavoured to come at this truth; no people on earth have a better opportunity, for near either of those places may be found several hundred miles almost as level as the sea, where, by means of a theodolite and chain, proper observations might be made for ascertaining this very essential proposition.

Though this passage proved long, it did not fatigue me so much as I expected, and was I to undertake it again in the winter, which I must here observe is the properest time, I would bring both horses and camels, particularly from Aleppo, where the former may be bought at such price, as to be sold to advantage at Bufferah. By which convenience, one may occasionally either ride before or stay behind the caravan, to view ruins or ancient buildings; which cannot be done on a camel, and half freight for the latter, would carry water, provisions and corn for the horses. It is not amiss to caution travellers, that locks and keys are extremely necessary against the Arab camellers, who have not the greatest regard for the eighth article of the Decalogue.

On a returning passage from Bufferah, you may there buy camels at about forty rupees per head, and they commonly sell at Aleppo for as many dollars, which yields a profit of near cent per cent.

cent. The hire of a cameller to look after and drive eight or ten of them, is only eight or ten dollars for the journey.

The freight of a camel loaded with five hundred pounds weight of goods is seven pounds sterling, and the hire of one to ride upon about half that sum. I paid 3 l. 5 s. or twenty-six piafters, and had about two hundred weight of provisions and effects.

This journey greatly refembles a voyage at fea, where good falt and dried provisions are very convenient, as well as some hampers of European liquors; firing is to be met with in great plenty, and with a little management one need not want water. If there were a few Europeans together with good dogs and guns, they might meet with plenty of hares, which would afford them excellent food, and make the journey very agreeable.

I found the weather not to be complained of, and water in plenty, for which reason, as I before observed, winter feems to me the best time for crossing the defart. It certainly must be much worse in summer, both on account of the scarcity of water, and the excessive heats, which at that time, and on those dry barren sands, must be intolerable.

But any person, having money and leisure, may perform this journey much more agreeably; by the way of Mossol and Bagdat, where they will meet with refreshments at every stage, and if curious in the survey of antient buildings, they may hire a burfie boat, about three days journey from Aleppo, and come down the Euphrates to Busserrah, in which track they must undoubtedly find many noble ruins of antient cities on both sides the rivers.

The Arabs value themselves highly on being a free and unconquered people; a circumstance to be



be solely attributed to their poverty, and the ster-  
ril state of their country. A better security against  
the rage of conquerors, than the greatest virtue or  
the most consummate valour.

They are certainly a bad people, though better  
than the commonality of Egypt and Turkey.  
There is no danger of being ill treated by them  
in the caravan, farther than a few insolent free-  
doms they think themselves justified in taking, on  
the strength of being Mahomet's countrymen, on  
which account they conclude themselves superior  
to the rest of mankind.

Bufferah is situated on the south side of a creek,  
running W. S. W. from the Euphrates; the body  
of the city being about two miles from that river.  
It is a place of great trade, and the only sea-port  
for Assyria and great part of Arabia; it carries on  
besides a considerable commerce with Syria, by  
means of caravans, from Aleppo and Damascus.

The tide flowed here about N. E. by E. and S.  
W. by W. being high water at three quarters after  
three, and rises near five feet perpendicular in the  
creek, which is fresh water. And if in the hands  
of industrious people, might be made to convey  
goods to every house, by means of canals, this  
would render it both a commodious and agreeable  
place.

The country near the river is extremely fertile,  
capable of producing every necessary in great a-  
bundance, were the natives inclined to tillage and  
improvements. But their scandalous indolence  
render these advantages useless; their whole hus-  
bandry being confined to the planting of dates,  
which requiring but little trouble, they raise in  
great plenty, so that provisions in general are ve-  
ry dear; their wheat and rice being brought from  
India and Persia at a vast expence.

This



This city was formerly furrounded by a wall, which being only clay, is mostly broken down and ruined. The houses are very mean, being generally built of the same materials, as they have neither wood or stone, but what is transported from India.

It is at present governed by a Mussulman, appointed by the bashaw of Bagdat, who is subordinate to the Grand Seignior, but has now made himself almost independant. There is also a captain bashaw who commands the marine, consisting of galleys, kept here for the defence of the place; I saw one of them which was very large, in a dock at the captain bashaw's house, about two miles below the town, where the creek joins the Euphrates, which is there about a mile broad.

Since I have seen Bufferah, I am not so much surprized that the ruins of Babylon, and some other ancient cities are no where discovered; because it is highly probable, they never had a sufficiency of wood fit for building, or burning bricks, and in many places a scarcity of stone; therefore I imagine the antients did as the moderns now do, that is, generally build with clay. Should any vicissitude of fortune at this time depopulate Bufferah, its situation in a few ages would no where be traced; as its ruins would soon be levelled by the rain, and covered with sand from the desert, which possibly was the fate of those ancient cities before mentioned.

Bufferah I take to be the Buxrath mentioned in Isaiah xxxiv. verse 6. Jeremiah xlviii. and xxiv. Haiah lxiii. and iv. Genesis xxxvi. verse 33. Jeremiah xlix. 18 and 22. Acts i. 12. I do not mean the present city which is of later date, or the old one whose ruins are to be seen on an island

S. E. thirty miles hence, from whence the people removed for fear of the Portuguese, who were then formidable. But the province of Bufferah and cities already mentioned, which I apprehend stood hereabouts, whose total demolition accomplished the prediction of the Prophets.

F I N I S.